

MACAULAY'S ESSAY
ON
ADDISON



W. Maranley

MACAULAY'S ESSAY
ON
THE LIFE AND WRITINGS
OF
ADDISON

EDITED ~~AND~~ ANNOTATED
BY
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WITH ILLUSTRATIONS

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NOTE

THE Notes in this edition have been made fuller than English students ordinarily require, for the benefit of Indian students

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION —	PAGES
I LIFE OF MACAULAY	ix-xviii
II MACAULAY'S PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS	xviii-xxi
III MACAULAY AS ESSAYIST	xxi-xxiv
IV MACAULAY AS HISTORIAN	xxiv-xxvii
V MACAULAY'S POETRY	xxviii
VI ANALYSIS OF MACAULAY'S ESSAY ON ADDISON	xxix-xxxii
VII SKETCH OF ADDISON'S LIFE	xxxii-xxxix
VIII ADDISON'S CHARACTER AND THE SATIRE OF POPE	xxxix-xlii
IX THE GENIUS OF ADDISON	xlii-xlvii
TEXT OF THE ESSAY	1-99
NOTES	101-211
APPENDICES	212-219

ILLUSTRATIONS

	PAGE
THOMAS BABINGTON MACAULAY <i>After a photograph by Claudet</i>	<i>Frontispiece</i>
ADDISON'S WALK (MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD) <i>From a photograph</i>	9
JOSEPH ADDISON	12
POPE'S VILLA <i>From a print dated 1785</i>	17
POPE'S VILLA, AS IT NOW APPEARS	33
JOHN CHURCHILL, FIRST DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH <i>From a portrait belonging to Earl Spencer, K G</i>	39
SIR RICHARD STEELE (1672-1729) <i>From the painting by J. Richardson in the National Portrait Gallery, London</i>	53
BUST OF VOLTAIRE <i>By Houdon in the Louvre, Paris</i>	57
CHARLES MONTAGU, EARL OF HALIFAX, K G <i>From the original painting by Sir Godfrey Kneller in the National Portrait Gallery, London</i>	76
ALEXANDER POPE	81
HOLLAND HOUSE	90
ADDISON'S TOMB IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY <i>From a photograph</i>	97

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

I.—LIFE OF MACAULAY

1. *Birth and Parentage*—Thomas Babington Macaulay was born October 25, 1800, at Rothley Temple in Leicestershire. He was the eldest of nine children. His father, Zachary Macaulay, an African merchant, was one of the most devoted and efficient workers in the cause of the abolition of the slave trade. He was an affectionate, if stern, parent, but he was too much absorbed in his public labours to assist in the secular part of his son's education, while he signally failed in the attempt to force the boy's mind into the mould of his own dour and narrow religion. His mother, who was the daughter of a Quaker bookseller at Bristol, had an important share in the formation of her eldest son's character. She appears to have been an earnest Christian, a tenderly affectionate mother, and withal a firm and judicious ruler of her household, who allowed no weak indulgence to spoil her children.

2. *Education and Early Manhood*.—The boy was from an early age a voracious reader, he developed extraordinary powers of memory, and showed remarkable precocity in his literary efforts both in prose and in verse. He was sent at the age of twelve to a school at Little Shelford, near Cambridge, and six years later to Trinity College, Cambridge. Here he distinguished himself by winning the Chancellor's medal for English verse on two occasions and the Craven

classical scholarship in 1821, besides College prizes for Latin declamation and for an English essay on William III. Most probably it was this latter exercise which first suggested the idea of his 'History,' of which William III. is the hero

In 1824 he was elected a Fellow of Trinity. His studies, however, had been almost entirely literary and historical, and his neglect of mathematics, which he profoundly disliked, had not been counterbalanced by the mental discipline of any other exact science. To this defect in his training are to be attributed, as Mr. Cotter Morison has pointed out, 'his want of philosophic grasp, his dread and dislike of arduous speculation, his deficient courage in facing intellectual problems.' Socially he had been a great success, and he left the University with the reputation of being one of the most brilliant speakers and conversationalists of the day. In politics he had been converted from a Tory into a strenuous Whig. He was called to the bar in 1826, but never took his profession seriously. He occupied himself instead with literary work and political activities. His poems 'Ivry' and 'Naseby' and some prose articles of excellent quality appeared in Knight's *Quarterly Magazine*, without attracting as much attention as they deserved; but his 'Essay on Milton,' which was published in August 1825 in the *Edinburgh Review*, gained him immediate popularity. He became a regular contributor, and his contributions speedily raised the *Review* to a far higher plane of literary distinction and authority. His success awakened no sympathy in his father, who criticised every one of his son's productions in much the same carping spirit as that in which Arnold condemned 'Pickwick,' as not tending to edification. But Macaulay's filial piety and sweetness of disposition were admirably proof against the infirmities of age and the unreason of religious bigotry.

Meanwhile his father's neglect of his private affairs had resulted in commercial disaster. Undismayed, however, by

the sudden reversal of fortune, Macaulay cheerfully took up the burden of supporting the whole family. With some assistance from his brother Henry, he ultimately paid off his father's debts and re-established the prosperity of the household. All this he did 'not grudgingly, as of necessity,' but with the most genial and unselfish kindness, simply unconscious that there was any merit in his self-sacrifice. 'Truly,' wrote his sister, 'he was to old and young alike the sunshine of our home, and I believe that no one, who did not know him there, knew him in his most brilliant, witty, and fertile vein.'

3. *Entrance into Parliament.*—In 1828 Lord Lyndhurst made him a commissioner in bankruptcy, and two years later his attack on the utilitarianism of James Mill procured him the offer from Lord Lansdowne of a seat in the House of Commons. As member for Calne he entered Parliament just in time to share in the whole campaign of the Reform Bill, in the final triumph of which his oratory played a conspicuous part. His very first speech on the bill created a sensation in the House, and his fourth brought up the whole phalanx of Tory debaters into the field, including Sir Robert Peel himself, to answer him. His fame made him a welcome guest at Holland House and introduced him to the society of Rogers, Sydney Smith, Moore, Campbell, and other literary celebrities. But in the midst of these flattering recognitions of his talents his pecuniary circumstances were such as to cause grave anxiety. His fellowship had expired in 1831, his commissionership in bankruptcy had been abolished, in the interests of economy, by Earl Grey's administration; the fluctuating income derived from his articles in the *Edinburgh Review* did not average as much, probably, as two hundred a year. He was reduced to such straits that he sold his University gold medals. Yet with characteristic high-mindedness he had voted for the Bankruptcy Bill which

deprived him of the only regular income that remained to him. Shortly afterwards he gave a still more striking proof of his disinterestedness

The position which he had won for himself in the House was recognised by his appointment in June 1832 to be a commissioner of the Board of Control, and his unwearied industry soon gave him an extensive insight into Indian affairs. In December of the same year he was elected M.P. for Leeds, and was appointed secretary to the Board of Control. In this capacity he took a leading part in carrying through Parliament the bill for renewing the charter of the East India Company. Then the Anti-Slavery Bill was introduced. In deference to his father's dissatisfaction with the apprenticeship clauses of the bill, he resigned his new office without a moment's hesitation, in order to support an amendment against the Government. But this honourable sacrifice to piety and to principle did not lose him the income of which he stood so badly in need, for a compromise was adopted by the Government and his resignation was not accepted.

4 *Labours in India*.—In the following year he was offered the post of legal member of the Supreme Council of India on a salary of £10,000 a year for five years. Acceptance involved separation from his family, to which he was devotedly attached, the interruption of his parliamentary career, and the postponement of the great work on the History of England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries which there is reason to think that he was already meditating. But the circumstances of his family made him decide without a murmur on the sacrifice. He sailed for India in February 1834.

Of his two favourite sisters one, Margaret, had married a year earlier, and he had felt the parting very keenly; the other, Hannah, agreed to share his exile in India.

On the long voyage he read incessantly, as he had always been accustomed to do in moments of leisure, even when he

took a walk in town or country. His reading was guided by no plan and directed to no object. His restless mind was impatient of any interval for reflection, and this lack of meditation has detracted seriously from the value of all his literary and historical compositions.

The three and a half years which he spent in India were years of unremitting toil. Not content with his official duties, into which he threw himself with his habitual energy and application, he voluntarily undertook very onerous work as chairman of the committees of Public Instruction and of the new Penal Code, he read through the greater part of the Latin and Greek classics, some of them twice, and he found time for two *Edinburgh Review* essays, on Bacon and on Mackintosh's 'History of the Revolution'. The part which he took in the discussion of the vexed question whether the higher education of the natives should be based on English literature and Western science, or on Oriental studies, was decisive. The members of the council were equally divided in opinion, Macaulay's famous minute determined the issue in favour of Western education based on a knowledge of English. Even his optimism would have faltered had he been able to foresee some of the results of that momentous decision. He had not, perhaps, realised how delicate an experiment it is to pour new wine into old bottles, nor how difficult it is to communicate to Eastern minds the spirit of Western thought through the medium of an alien language often very imperfectly assimilated. But in Macaulay's day there was no alternative between shutting the door on modern progress and adopting English education. There was at that time no possibility of imparting Western knowledge by means of any Indian vernacular.

Better known, but scarcely more important in their effects, were his labours on the Penal Code and the Code of Criminal Procedure. But, though he had a much larger share than

any other member of the committee in determining the form of these brilliantly successful codes, it is unjust to his colleagues and incorrect to speak of them, as has often been done, as if he were their sole author.

At the end of 1834 he lost the companionship of his sister Hannah, a severe blow to him, through her marriage to Charles Trevelyan, his future biographer, and soon afterwards he was deeply grieved by the news of the death of his sister Margaret. He resided, however, with the Trevelyans after their marriage, and became devoted to their children, the first of whom was born during his residence in India.

5. *Parliamentary Career resumed.*—In June 1838 he reached England with the Trevelyans and found that his father had died a month before his arrival. It was characteristic of him that he employed the voyage in learning German, and that he never, apparently, made any use of the acquisition except to read a few dramas of Goethe, Schiller, and Lessing. He never used it to study any of the great German exponents of the modern scientific school of history, many of whom were his contemporaries. With the savings he had accumulated in India and a legacy of £10,000 from an uncle he had now a modest competence for his family and himself, after paying off his father's debts. In the autumn he made a three months' tour in Italy. On his return in February 1839 he took up his residence again with the Trevelyans in London and began his 'History of England.' But he soon allowed himself to be diverted from his task both by writing articles for the *Edinburgh Review* and by plunging again into politics. He was elected M.P. for Edinburgh, and soon afterwards made Secretary at War, with a seat in the cabinet. He could not save Lord Melbourne's ministry, which had lost ground in the House and was unpopular in the country; but he gained a personal triumph by his intervention in the Copyright question. He secured the defeat first of Serjeant

Talfourd's bill, and subsequently of Lord Mahon's modest proposal to extend the period of copyright to twenty-five years from the death of the author. Macaulay succeeded in getting the period reduced to forty-two years from the date of publication. Few literary men of the present day are grateful to him for his intervention. When the Melbourne ministry fell in 1841, he was released from the drudgery of office, but retained his seat for Edinburgh unopposed at an election when Whig seats were falling thick and fast. Even then, though he resumed work on his 'History,' he continued to permit the claims of the *Edinburgh Review*, of the House of Commons, and of society to interfere with the progress of the work. It was not till 1845, twenty years after his first contribution, that he summoned up resolution to refuse definitely to write any more articles till he had finished the first two volumes of his 'History.' But he did not abandon his parliamentary labours till 1847, when he lost his seat for Edinburgh at the general election; indeed, he took office again in 1846, as Paymaster-General in Lord John Russell's ministry, although he spoke more seldom than before in the House.

6. *Popularity of his Works*—The 'History,' begun in 1839, had advanced only to the completion of the second volume in 1848, partly owing to the interruptions already recorded. It had already become manifest that the original scope of the work, which was to have embraced the period from the Revolution of 1688 to the death of George IV., could not be maintained. He had begun too late, laboured too intermittently, planned on too generous a scale. The diffuse minuteness of his narrative required the sacrifice of a year of the historian's life for every year that he recorded. One must have lived before the Flood to complete such an epic of history. In fact, he only lived long enough to produce two more volumes, published in 1855. The fifth and last volume,

edited by Lady Trevelyan, appeared in 1861, two years after his death. The work remains, therefore, as a mere fragment of the larger design, it covers only the seventeen years from the accession of James II to the death of William III. Its instant and universal popularity was extraordinary. Of the first two volumes, published in November 1848, 13,000 copies were sold in the first four months. The third and fourth volumes appeared in December 1855, in less than three months 26,500 copies were sold, and in March 1856 Messrs Longman paid him a cheque for £20,000. The 'History' was translated into eleven European languages and one Eastern.

In October 1842 appeared his 'Lays of Ancient Rome,' two of which had been composed in India. They are cultured and spirited ballads of excellent workmanship, written with more restraint and better taste than he displayed in prose, but with the same eye for picturesque and dramatic effect. They met with a flattering reception, 18,000 copies being sold in ten years.

In the following year he published the 'Essays,' a step to which he had been reluctantly compelled by piratical editions printed in America. They attained immediate and rapidly increasing popularity. Over 12,000 copies were sold in the first ten years, and the annual sale went on rising till it averaged 6000 copies a year from 1864 onwards.

7. Last Years—In November 1848 he was elected Lord Rector of the University of Glasgow. He delivered his address in the following March, and it was published in 1849. Soon afterwards he was offered the professorship of modern history at Cambridge, but wisely refused it on account of his 'History.' Since his rejection at Edinburgh he had been absent from the House, and had gradually withdrawn from society to cultivate his own fireside at his chambers in London, where he had resided since the Trevelyans moved to Clapham in

1840. But he never allowed even his books to interfere with the visits of his sister's children, of whom he was the untiring playmate. At the general election of 1852 Edinburgh made handsome amends to him by returning him, unsolicited, at the head of the poll. Almost immediately afterwards, however, his health, which had hitherto been excellent, suddenly gave way in July 1852 he had an acute attack of heart disease, which left chronic asthma behind. He fought courageously against the malady, resolutely continuing his daily work on the fourth and fifth volumes of the 'History,' and even occasionally attending at the House of Commons and making speeches. In one of these, uttered on the bill of 1853 for excluding judges from the House of Commons, his oratory triumphed as it had done on the Copyright question, he brought about the rejection of a measure which had passed unchallenged to the third reading. But the strain overtaxed his failing strength, and he sat down trembling and exhausted. In the following year he was chairman of the committee appointed to draw up rules for the examination of candidates for the Indian Civil Service, having energetically supported the measure by which appointments in the East India Company's service were to be thrown open to competition.

An unauthorised and very inaccurate version of his speeches, published in 1853, now compelled him to issue his 'Speeches Corrected by Himself.' These did not appeal to the public as his written compositions had done; but many good judges consider them the most valuable part of his literary remains. 'It is impossible,' writes Mr. Cotter Morison, 'to read Macaulay's speeches without feeling that in delivering them he was wielding an instrument of which he was absolutely the master. The luminous order and logical sequence of the parts are only surpassed by the lofty unity and coherence of the whole. High statesmanlike views are unfolded in language that is at once terse, chaste, and familiar, never

fine-drawn or over-subtle, but plain, direct, and forcible, exactly suited to an audience of practical men. Above all, the noble and generous sentiment, which burns and glows through every sentence, melts the whole mass of argument, illustration, and invective into a torrent of majestic oratory, which is as far above the eloquence of rhetoric as high poetry is above the mere rhetoric of verse.'

Early in 1856 he bought Holly Lodge, a house on Campden Hill, Kensington, to which he moved into residence from his chambers in the Albany in May of the same year. Here he remained till his death, diversifying his historical work with amateur gardening and the entertainment of his friends. His eminent services to the Whig party were rewarded in August 1857, when he was raised to the peerage as Baron Macaulay, and in the same year he was elected High Steward of the borough of Cambridge, a compliment which he acknowledged in his last speech, delivered in May 1858. In 1859 Trevelyan was appointed governor of Madras, for which he sailed in February. The approaching separation from his beloved sister and her children weighed heavily on Macaulay's spirits. He was able to spend an autumn holiday in the Lake district and in Scotland, but soon after his return to Holly Lodge his weakness increased. On December 28 he passed away quietly and easily, sitting in his library. He was buried near Addison's statue in Westminster Abbey on January 9, 1860.

II.—MACAULAY'S PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS

1. *Personality*.—In person Macaulay was short, stout, and clumsily built; his features, plain and commonplace, were redeemed only by an intellectual forehead. He was unathletic and took no exercise except an occasional ramble, almost always with a book in his hand. The amount and rapidity

of his reading were prodigious, on a sixteen-mile walk from Malvern to Worcester and back, he tells us, he read fourteen books of Homer's 'Odyssey.' His casual consumption of the classics in India was equivalent to an ordinary student's reading for the classical tripos. He devoured immense quantities of poetry, fiction, history, biography, good, bad, and indifferent, everything, in fact, except mathematics, philosophy, and science. And whatever he read, his capacious and retentive memory stored away for future use. The masterpieces of literature jostled there with the poet's corner of the *Little Peddlington Observer*. We have known personally a gentleman who was so thoroughly a master of Bradshaw that he could instantly give the quickest route between any two stations in Great Britain, and often even the times of the trains, and another who could take a class of boys in any one of half a dozen tragedies of Sophocles without having the text before him. But these feats of memory pale before Macaulay's. Even the most trivial effusions which he had once seen in print in his youth he could repeat without an effort thirty or forty years later. He once declared that if every copy of 'Paradise Lost' and of the 'Pilgrim's Progress' had disappeared from the world, he could have reproduced them from memory, and there is no reason to disbelieve his assertion.

2. *Character*—In character he was distinguished by unflinching sweetness of temper, a high sense of duty, and an incorruptible integrity. Of his integrity two striking instances have been recorded above. Of his sense of duty and his independence in public life he gave remarkable examples during his candidature for Leeds in 1832 and for Edinburgh in 1839. In both cases he refused absolutely to give any pledges. In the Leeds election he expressed his views in two vigorous letters, the latter of which concludes thus: 'It is not necessary to my happiness that I should sit in Parliament ;

but it is necessary to my happiness that I should possess, in Parliament or out of Parliament, the consciousness of having done what is right.' To sturdy common sense and a masculine understanding he united a thoroughly unselfish affection for his family and friends. He was beloved by the few who knew him intimately, adored by his nephews and nieces. The almost unbroken success of his career left no opportunity for the severest test of a man's fibre, disappointment and failure; but there was in him a vein of quiet heroism which leads us to believe that he would not have proved wanting. On the moral side almost his only weakness seems to have been a touch of the pedant and of the prig. On moral and intellectual questions his attitude was that which was irreverently ascribed to the late Dr Jowett, 'What there is to know, I know it,' and 'What I know not, is not knowledge.' He would have been in his element in an Oxford common-room.

3. *Limitations*.—But his temperament had important limitations. To the higher things of the mind and of the spirit Macaulay's nature was opaque. His contempt for every kind of speculative thought was allied to a strange lack of spirituality. There was not an ounce of passion or enthusiasm in his composition. He never once in all his life fell in love, he never was guilty of an impulsive indiscretion; he never, even in youth, was carried off his feet for a moment by religious or political fervour. He was a sort of human counterpart to Wordsworth's stock-dove.

Mr. Bagehot in his 'Literary Studies' has acutely argued that this admixture of phlegm in Macaulay's composition accounts for the curious fact that he was unable to do adequate justice in his 'History' not only to the Cavalier, to whom he was politically opposed, but even to the Puritan with whom he was politically in sympathy. He was unmoved alike by the passionate loyalty of the one and by the religious enthusiasm of the other.

It might be thought, at first sight, that the insensibility and coldness which are unfavourable to the appreciation of the Cavalier would be particularly favourable to that of the Puritan. . . . In Macaulay's case it certainly had no such consequence. He was bred up in the circle which more than any other has resembled that of the greatest and best Puritans . . . Yet he has revolted against it. . . . The whole course of his personal fortunes, the entire scope of his historical narrative, show an utter want of sympathy with the Puritan disposition. It would be idle to quote passages; it will be enough to recollect the contrast between the estimate—say of Cromwell—by Carlyle and that by Macaulay, to be aware of the enormous discrepancy. The one's manner evinces an instinctive sympathy, the other's an instinctive aversion. We believe that this is but a consequence of the same impassibility of nature which we have said so much of.' The argument that follows is too long to quote. The gist of it is that man's nature is a single whole, not twofold, and that he who is cold in human sympathies will of necessity be cold also in devotion and will find no attraction in a character the whole basis of which was 'a passionate, deep, rich, religious organisation.'

III.—MACAULAY AS ESSAYIST

1. *The Essays*.—Of the thirty-six Essays which Macaulay contributed during a period of twenty years to the *Edinburgh Review*, sixteen were historical, twelve literary, and eight controversial:—

<i>Historical.</i>	<i>Literary</i>	<i>Controversial</i>
Hallam's Constitutional History.	Milton	Utilitarian Logic and Politics.
Hampden.	Dryden	Bentham's Defence of Mill.
Burleigh.	History.	Utilitarian Theory of Government
The Spanish War of Succession.	Robert Montgomery.	
	Byron	
	Croker's Boswell	

xxii *LIFE AND WRITINGS OF ADDISON*

<i>Historical</i>	<i>Literary</i>	<i>Controversial</i>
Lord Chatham—I	The Pilgrim's Progress	Southey's Colloques.
Mackintosh's History of the Revolution.	Horace Walpole	Sadler's Law of Popu- lation
Bacon	The Comic Drama- tists	Sadler's Refutation
Sir William Temple	Lord Holland	Refuted
Clive	Madame d'Arblay	Civil Disabilities of the Jews
Warren Hastings	Addison	Gladstone's Church and State
Lord Chatham—II		
—		
Machiavelli		
Ranke's History of the Popes		
Frederick the Great.		
Mirabeau		
Barère		

2. *Controversial*.—Little interest now attaches to the controversial essays. Macaulay knew nothing of philosophy, which he regarded with contemptuous indifference. To political controversy he contributed no broad principles, none of the illuminating flashes of insight and wisdom that lend an abiding interest to the political treatises of Burke.

3. *Literary*.—For literary criticism he was ill-equipped, his nature was unsympathetic, outside his own narrow circle; his mind was lacking in range and flexibility of understanding, his positive and dogmatic temper precluded intelligent appreciation of anything foreign to his experience or uncongenial to his preconceived opinions. The essays on Milton and on Samuel Johnson are the worst. The article on Milton is the most conspicuous failure on the critical side, while in the case of Boswell and Johnson his work suffers from political prejudice as well as from defect of critical acumen. The article on Montgomery's poems is flippantly amusing, in the style that passed for criticism in the earlier days of the *Edinburgh Review* and the *Quarterly*. His most successful piece of criticism is his last, the essay on Addison. Here he had for his subject one with whom he was in the fullest sympathy, morally, politically, and intellectually. And if he failed to

do justice to Addison's piety and to his zealous efforts to mitigate political animosities, he has vindicated in ample measure his character, his literary skill, and his services in the cause of the reformation of contemporary manners.

4. *Historical*.—The most important series is the historical. An exception, however, must be made of the essay on Bacon. Mr. Spedding, in his 'Evenings with a Reviewer,' has exposed in detail the gross inaccuracy and bias of this production on the historical side, on the philosophical side it is at least equally discreditable to the author. Of the rest, the English historical essays are much better than the foreign, and the latest are more dignified and impressive than the earlier work. In this group the finest are the essay on Sir William Temple and the second on Lord Chatham. The articles on Clive and Warren Hastings, though brilliantly written and containing some of Macaulay's best pictorial and rhetorical effects, are very untrustworthy and misleading. The memory of Warren Hastings, in particular, has suffered the gravest injustice from Macaulay's partiality and misrepresentation of facts and motives. Some of the worst inaccuracies have been exposed by Impey, Lyall, and Sir James Stephen. But a defamation that has half a century's start and the popularity of Macaulay's style to give it currency dies very hard.

5. *Style · Merits and Defects* —The historical essay may almost be said to be the creation of Macaulay, for though Southey had employed the form before him, it was he who first made the dry bones of history live again in this species of composition. His aim was to make history interesting to the ordinary reader, and he succeeded to admiration. The vivacity, clearness, ease, and vigour of the narrative are astonishing. Fact, anecdote, description, apt illustration, telling allusion are wrought into one harmonious whole with the skill of a great architect.

The wonderful condensation of knowledge displayed in

the 'Essays' is not accompanied by the corresponding virtue of terseness in the style. On the contrary, terseness is everywhere sacrificed to the necessity of attaining transparent clearness of meaning. Repetitions of the same thought in varying language are frequent, obvious truisms are insisted upon as if they were original discoveries, a single theme is often elaborated at excessive length. Devices proper only to rhetoric, such as startling antithesis and the reiteration of particular words or phrases, are abundant. In no other author, perhaps, does the written word preserve so closely the effect of the spoken. Macaulay was, above all else, a born orator; indeed, had wealth been added to his other gifts of fortune, we cannot doubt that he would have figured as a great party leader.

In spite of these defects, however, the structure of the 'Essays' is admirably adapted to the special purpose that Macaulay had in view; and if the foundations are sometimes unsound, and the style has in it some features that a fastidious taste cannot approve, we have to remember that the work is a mere by-product of leisure moments snatched from a most laborious life. The author himself was well aware of the defects of the 'Essays' and was very reluctant to reprint them in book form. He thought them unworthy of a permanent place in English literature; but two successive generations of English-speaking men and women have judged otherwise.

IV.—MACAULAY AS HISTORIAN

1. *His Ideal*.—As a historian Macaulay pursued a similar plan, but with much more care and research and a still more elaborate arrangement of his material. Of the ideal which he set before himself he has left an interesting account in the essay entitled 'History,' which appeared in the

Edinburgh Review in May 1828: 'The perfect historian is he in whose work the character and spirit of the age is exhibited in miniature. He relates no fact, he attributes no expression to his characters, which is not authenticated by sufficient testimony. *But by judicious selection, rejection, and arrangement, he gives to truth those attractions which have been usurped by fiction.* In his narrative a due subordination is observed; some transactions are prominent, others retire. But the scale on which he represents them is increased or diminished, not according to the dignity of the persons concerned in them, but according to the degree in which they elucidate the condition of society and the nature of man. He shows us the court, the camp, and the senate. But he shows us also the nation. He considers no anecdote, no peculiarity of manner, no familiar saying as too insignificant for his notice, which is not too insignificant to illustrate the operation of laws, of religion, and of education, and to mark the progress of the human mind. Men will not merely be described, but will be made intimately known to us. The changes of manners will be indicated, not merely by a few general phrases, or a few extracts from statistical documents, but by appropriate images presented in every line.

'If a man, such as we are supposing, should write the history of England, he would assuredly not omit the battles, the sieges, the negotiations, the seditions, the ministerial changes *But with these he would intersperse the details which are the charm of historical romance.* . . . Sir Walter Scott . . . has used those fragments of truth which historians have scornfully thrown behind them, in a manner which may well excite their envy. He has constructed out of their gleanings works which, even considered as histories, are scarcely less valuable than theirs. *But a truly great historian would reclaim those materials which the novelist has appropriated.* . . . We should not then have to look for the wars and votes of the

Puritans in Clarendon, and for their phraseology in *Old Mortality*; for one half of King James in *Hume*, and for the other half in the *Fortunes of Nigel*.'

2. *History in the Style of Fiction*.—It is instructive to note that Sir Walter Scott has inspired Macaulay the historian as well as Macaulay the poet, and that eleven years before he commenced his '*History*' Macaulay had formulated the method in which he conceived that the *History of England* should be written. If he did not always live up to his ideal in respect of a scrupulous adherence to fact, he exemplified with remarkable fidelity his early conception of 'reclaiming' for history the domain 'usurped' by fiction. To what extent a history written on this principle serves the cause of historical truth is, of course, questionable. In the essay quoted above Macaulay remarks: 'A history, in which every particular incident may be true, may on the whole be false.' This is true enough. But it may be replied that the most entrancing narrative or the most lively portraiture, even though founded on fact, may be false. They may be so heightened by exaggeration or coloured by the imputation of wrong motives, as to constitute a travesty of the real occurrence or a caricature of the real person. Or again, as in Macaulay's character sketch of Dr. Johnson, an undue prominence given to external defects and peculiarities—every one of them amply attested—conveys to the mind of the reader an impression of personality very different from that of the man whom Goldsmith, Reynolds, and Burke loved and revered. An impression so distorted is 'on the whole false.'

3. *Macaulay's Partiality*.—Whether it is desirable that a historian should be absolutely impartial, is a moot point; but that it is practically impossible few will deny. Any near approach to rigid impartiality can only be attained in the absence both of passion and of imagination. Macaulay, at

least, makes no attempt to conceal his partiality, it is open and unabashed. It colours almost everything that he wrote. Not that he is consciously or intentionally unfair, but that he is incapable of seeing or appreciating any other standpoint than his own. And, with him, partiality is very apt to degenerate into inaccuracy and misrepresentation, especially in the case of persons whom he disliked. So vivid to him were the creations of his historical imagination, that he saw them like living personages, and he wrote of James II. and of Lord Bacon with as hearty an ill-will as he did of Croker or Lord Brougham.

4. *Merits of his Work*.—Of the scope and execution of the design mention has been made above (Introd. 1. 6). Of the imaginative power and of the technical skill of the work it is difficult to speak too highly. With the sense of proportion, the ‘feeling for the whole,’ those essential qualifications of a great artist, Macaulay was pre-eminently endowed. The easy flow of his narrative conceals the elaborate complexity of the design and the laborious art of its detail. For the passive and uncritical reader of Macaulay *his* version of an episode, *his* presentment of an historical character, are as the truth of revelation henceforward.

5. *Unscientific History*.—Of the larger duty of the historian Macaulay had no conception. He had no ambition of adding to the sum of human knowledge by laborious and patient research in the cause of truth alone. Nor had he either the capacity or the inclination for ‘philosophising’ about history. He took the view of ‘the man in the street’ and assiduously wrote for him, and ‘the man in the street’ cares nothing for abstract truth or for the great movements of the human mind. He remained a reactionary in the midst of the new school of scientific historians. Of one of the greatest of his contemporaries, Niebuhr, he speaks only to disparage him.

V.—MACAULAY'S POETRY

Macaulay's poetical production is too scanty, apart from its quality, to entitle him to the rank of a poet. It consists of the 'Lays of Ancient Rome,' the ballads of 'Ivry' and 'Naseby,' and a handful of other verses. Of these pieces the 'Lays' are the best, and 'Horatius' is, perhaps, the most poetical, as well as the most popular. These ballads of the legendary period of Rome are, as Mr. Leslie Stephen has well said of them, 'an admirable specimen of rhymed rhetoric.' Considered as attempts to supply what is lacking in Roman literature, they are, naturally, not quite so successful; the sentiment is sometimes medieval or modern rather than archaic. Again, where elemental passions had to be dealt with, as in 'Virginia,' Macaulay sometimes failed for want of the instinctive knowledge of the human heart which would have guided him aright. He could always command rhetorical effect, but not always dramatic truth.

Poetry, in the highest sense of the word, the 'Lays' can hardly claim to be; but they have many poetical qualities. The versification is as perfect as its rather monotonous character permits, the diction is simple and vigorous, the style is animated, direct, and forcible, at once chaste and picturesque.

No English poet has written more spirited and artistic declamation. But it is, after all, artificial, not spontaneous, poetry. Macaulay himself modestly recognised the fact when he described the 'Lays' as 'scholarlike and not inelegant trifles.'

VI.—ANALYSIS OF MACAULAY'S ESSAY
ON ADDISON

The essay commences with an apologetic but very drastic criticism of Miss Aikin's pretensions to write a 'Life of Addison' (pp. 3, 4); but from this point there are only one or two allusions to the book of which this is ostensibly a review, and Macaulay proceeds to give his own views of the life and times of Joseph Addison.

After a brief sketch of Addison's character (p. 5) and some account of his family and education (pp. 6-8), Macaulay turns aside to a lengthy digression on Miss Aikin's alleged blunder of overrating Addison's classical attainments. The early Latin and English poems are next criticised, with an excursion of a rather shallow order on the English heroic stanza, and mention is made of the preface written for Dryden's translation of the 'Georgics' (pp. 13-18).

Charles Montague is introduced, and the story is told of his interposition to prevent Addison from taking orders, and of his successful efforts to obtain a pension for him (pp. 18-21). An account of Addison's sojourn in France and of his interviews with Malbranche and Boileau (pp. 21-26) is followed by a running commentary on his travels in Italy and Switzerland, by a brief criticism of his poetical epistle to Montague and his 'Dialogues on Medals,' and by the apocryphal story of his travelling tutorship in Switzerland and Germany (pp. 26-32).

A sketch of the state of political parties in 1704 is illustrated by a parallel drawn from the year 1826 (pp. 32-34), and Macaulay then narrates how Montague again befriended Addison by recommending him to Godolphin, and how fame and fortune were first opened to him by his poem on the victory of Blenheim (pp. 34-36). Criticisms are interposed of 'The Campaign,' of the 'Travels in Italy,' and of 'Rosamond'

(pp. 36-42). The growing ascendancy of the Whigs and Addison's diplomatic employment and introduction to parliamentary life are then described, occasioning another digression on the reasons why literary talent, rather than oratory, led to advancement in the period that followed the Revolution (pp. 42-45). The causes, other than literary, of Addison's rapid promotion are discussed, and a critical account is given of his social character and of his circle of adoring friends (pp. 45-50). A notice of his official career in Ireland leads up to a sketch of the origin and character of the *Tatler* (pp. 51-54).

The great qualities of Addison's prose, first displayed to advantage in the *Tatler*, are eulogised, his wit and humour are considered in relation to those of other great writers, and his pleasantry is elaborately contrasted with that of Swift and that of Voltaire (pp. 55-59), Steele's share in the reformation of contemporary manners is ignored, in order to magnify Addison's, and the literary value of his papers in the *Tatler* is disparaged, while that of Addison's is exaggerated (pp. 59, 60).

The trial of Sacheverell and the fall of the Whigs from power are commented on with the bitterness of a personally injured man, and Addison's serene philosophy and remarkable popularity with his political opponents are effectively illustrated (pp. 60-63).

The origin and plan of the *Spectator* and Addison's share in it are so represented as to obscure or depreciate the part played by Steele (pp. 63-66). The popularity of the *Spectator* is contrasted with the comparative failure of the *Guardian* (p. 67), owing to Addison's preoccupation with the production of 'Cato.' The success of 'Cato' on the stage is described and attributed to the rivalry of political parties (pp. 68-70), Dennis's criticism is noticed, to Addison's dignified but justly severe rebuke of Pope's ill-bred rejoinder is ascribed the subsequent rancour of Pope against Addison (pp. 71-73).

In connection with Steele's political writings in the *Englishman*, and his arbitrary expulsion from the House of Commons on account of his pamphlet 'The Crisis,' another page is devoted to artful detraction from his character as a patriot and as a man of letters (pp. 73-74)

The discomfiture of the Jacobites and the fusion of moderate men of both parties on the sudden death of Queen Anne are rapidly noted, and occasion is taken from Addison's restoration to office to refute the absurd tradition that he was incapable of drafting a letter to King George I. (pp. 74, 75). Addison's return to Ireland as Chief Secretary affords an opportunity for considering his relations with Swift and the provision that he made for his friends Tickell, Budgell, and Ambrose Philips (p. 78). His comedy, 'The Drummer,' and his papers in the *Freeholder* are noticed, with another incidental disparagement of Steele's controversial writings (pp. 79, 80).

Addison is successfully defended against the charge of having given Pope insidious, or at least bad, advice regarding the projected recast of the 'Rape of the Lock' (pp. 80-82), and against the further charge of treacherously instigating Tickell to injure Pope's translation of Homer by means of a rival translation (pp. 82-85). Macaulay points out that these charges had no other origin than in the bad heart of Pope. Pope's habitual malignity, mendacity, and perfidy are contrasted with Addison's goodness of heart, integrity, and magnanimity; the untrustworthy stories circulated by Pope about the Earl of Warwick and about the alleged communication to Addison of the lines on 'Atticus' are, however, accepted by Macaulay as facts, though he defends Addison from some of Pope's slanders (pp. 86-88).

The mention of the Earl of Warwick serves to introduce the subject of Addison's courtship and of his marriage to the Dowager Countess of Warwick (pp. 88, 89), the malicious gossip of the day about a termagant and a 'hen-pecked'

husband at Holland House being allowed more credence than it deserves (pp. 91, 92). Addison's elevation to the dignity of a Secretary of State, his resignation owing to ill-health, and the literary pursuits of his retirement are treated with brevity (pp. 89, 92), and are succeeded by an account of his controversy with Steele over Sunderland's Peerage Bill (pp. 92-95), scant justice being done to Steele therein.

The succeeding pages are occupied with the last illness of Addison, including the improbable story about a supposed injury to Gay, and with an eloquent eulogy of Addison's serene and cheerful piety. After an impressive account of his burial in Westminster Abbey, the essay concludes with a somewhat exaggerated appreciation of Tickell's elegy on Addison, and with a lofty panegyric on the statesman, the scholar, and the consummate moralist who had 'reconciled wit and virtue after a long and disastrous separation.'

VII—SKETCH OF ADDISON'S LIFE

1. *Birth*.—Joseph Addison was born at Milston in Wiltshire on May 1, 1672. He was the eldest son of the Rev. Lancelot Addison, Rector of Milston, and afterwards Dean of Lichfield, an author of some reputation in his day. His mother was a daughter of Dr. Nathaniel Gulston, and sister of William Gulston, afterwards Bishop of Bristol. He was one of six children, three boys and three girls. Two of his sisters died young; the third, Dorothy, was twice married, and survived till 1750; she was described by Swift as 'a sort of a wit,' and very like her brother. His next brother, Gulston, served the East India Company in Madras and was made Governor of Fort St. George, where he died in 1709, soon after his promotion. His younger brother, Lancelot, became a Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford; he died at Fort St. George in 1711.

2. *Education and Early Manhood* —He was sent to schools at Amesbury, Salisbury, and Lichfield, before being entered at Charterhouse. Here he contracted a lifelong friendship with Richard Steele, who was his senior by about two months, having been born at the beginning of March and baptized on March 12, 1671–1672. It is necessary to mention this fact, because the erroneous statement that Steele was his junior by three years has been widely circulated and often used in such a manner as to give a false colour to the mutual relations of the 'two' friends. In 1687 he was sent to his father's old college, Queen's, Oxford; but through the good offices of Dr. Lancaster, fellow, and afterwards provost of his college, he was elected to a demyship at Magdalen. Dr. Lancaster's action was due to his admiration of some Latin verses of Addison which had attracted his attention. He took his M.A. degree in 1693, and secured a probationary fellowship in 1697, which was converted into a fellowship in the following year. He acquired considerable credit among scholars by his spirited and elegant Latin verse compositions. Other early publications were his translations from Virgil and Ovid, his poetical address to Dryden, a poem to the King, a dedication to Lord Somers, and an essay on Virgil's 'Georgics.' Owing to his reputation as a scholar he was also invited by Tonson, the Whig bookseller, to translate two books of Herodotus; it was Tonson, too, who introduced him to Dryden, Congreve, and other wits. We know that Addison had at one time contemplated taking orders; but he was deterred from doing so by the interposition of Charles Montague, Lord Halifax; whose acquaintance he had made through Congreve. Montague, who was desirous of securing for the Whig party the services of so promising a writer, obtained for him through Lord Somers a pension of £300 a year, to fit him by travel and experience of the world for diplomatic and political employment.

Accordingly he left England in the summer of 1699 and spent eighteen months in France, learning the language. In December 1700 he started on a prolonged tour through Italy, Switzerland, Austria, Germany, and Holland. In Holland he heard of his father's death and returned to England in the spring of 1703. His popular 'Remarks on Several Parts of Italy,' published in 1705, was one of the results of this tour; another was his 'Dialogues on Medals,' which he was too modest to publish during his lifetime.

The death of William III. had deprived him of his pension, the Whigs being dismissed from office, and he had only his fellowship to live upon. His straitened circumstances, however, had not compelled him to abandon his continental tour, nor did they interfere, after his return to England, with his social advancement; he was elected in 1704 a member of the very select Kit-Kat Club, to which only the most distinguished and noble members of the Whig party belonged.

3. *Official Career commenced*—After a year passed without employment fortune came to him, again through Halifax, who recommended him to the Tory chief, Godolphin, as one who would worthily celebrate in verse the victory of Blenheim. The Chancellor of the Exchequer was sent to Addison's lodgings to offer him a post, just vacated by Locke, in the excise department, and to invite him to write the required poem. The result was 'The Campaign,' which, if not a very lofty production, contained one immensely applauded simile, in which Marlborough in action was compared to an angel, who, 'calm and serene,' 'rides in the whirlwind and directs the storm.' The poet was rewarded in 1706 by promotion to the post of Under-Secretary of State in the office of Sir Charles Hedges, a moderate Tory. A year later he accompanied Halifax on a diplomatic mission to the court of Hanover; another famous man of letters, Vanbrugh, was included in

the embassy. It was in the same year that his English opera, 'Rosamond,' was unsuccessfully produced on the stage

In November 1708 he entered Parliament as M.P. for Lostwithiel; but the election having been set aside, he was elected for Malmesbury, which he represented for the rest of his life. In December of the same year the Earl of Sunderland, who had displaced Sir Charles Hedges soon after Addison's promotion, was removed to make way for a Tory, and Addison followed his chief into retirement. But soon afterwards he was offered and he accepted the post of secretary to the Earl of Wharton, the newly appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. To this was added the office of Keeper of the Records on £400 a year. Though he lost his secretaryship through the fall of the Whigs in the autumn of 1710, he was permitted to retain the minor office. During his stay in Ireland he renewed the friendship with Swift which had begun in London.

4. *The Tatler, The Spectator, and The Guardian*.—Meanwhile his old school and college friend, Steele, had started the famous new departure in journalism, the *Tatler*, April 12, 1709. It was intended to appeal specially to women and to contribute at once to their amusement and to their enlightenment. Till the eighty-first number appeared Addison only found time to contribute two papers; but during the winter of 1709, which he spent in London, his support was frequently lent to the new venture, and again in the following winter after the Whigs had been driven from office. Addison's contributions gradually transformed the character of the *Tatler*. The news element disappeared, the social and literary elements became predominant. The *Tatler* continued to appear three times a week till January 2, 1710-1711. On March 1 following appeared the first number of the still more celebrated *Spectator*, which was published daily till December

6, 1712 In the tenth number Addison defined its objects as being to bring philosophy out of closets and libraries, schools and colleges, to dwell in clubs and assemblies, at tea-tables and in coffee-houses, and, with respect to the fair sex, to provide 'an innocent if not an improving entertainment.' Politics and news were altogether excluded, and the two friends jointly devised the plan of an imaginary club composed of men representative of various types of the upper middle class, whose views were to be commented on by the *Spectator*. The success of this plan was chiefly due to the admirable delineation of Sir Roger de Coverley, a type of the fine old English country gentleman, whose character was originated by Steele, elaborated and refined by Addison with his charming humanity and inimitable humour. To the *Spectator* proper Addison contributed nearly half the essays, 274 out of 555, or 298 out of 635, if we include the revived *Spectator*. The popularity of this new penny journal was extraordinary, not only in London but all over the country, in thousands of households it soon came to be regarded as an indispensable accompaniment of the tea and rolls at breakfast. The daily sale gradually rose from 3000 to an average of at least 10,000 copies. It survived even the halfpenny stamp imposed in August 1712, and the consequent doubling of its price. When the numbers were collected and republished in book form, many thousands of copies were sold at the high price of a guinea a volume. It is probable that the profits derived from his connection with the *Tatler* and the *Spectator* assisted the purchase in 1711 of the estate of Bilton in Warwickshire at a cost of £10,000, at a time when the loss of his office and of his fellowship might naturally have been expected to render such an outlay impracticable. The *Spectator* was succeeded by the *Guardian*, May 28 to September 22, 1713, to which Addison contributed a third of the essays. From June 18 to September 29, 1714, appeared a revised *Spectator*,

from which the fiction of the Spectator Club had vanished. Addison contributed twenty-four papers, chiefly of a serious moral or religious cast.

5 '*Cato*.'—In April 1713 Addison's fame and popularity were still further increased by the success of his '*Cato*,' partly composed several years before. It was a tragedy after the French model, and was acted at Drury Lane for twenty nights to such full houses that a profit of over £4000 was realised by the managers. Whigs and Tories vied with one another in appropriating and applauding the political maxims with which the play abounds.

In the midst of this chorus of approbation the critic John Dennis published a pamphlet in which the weak points in the play were mercilessly exposed. Pope, who had written the prologue to '*Cato*,' seized the opportunity of wreaking a private revenge, under cover of a defence of Addison. He did it in a scurrilous prose lampoon, unredeemed by a spark of wit. Addison, justly annoyed, signified his disapproval of this offensive and disingenuous mode of championship in a dignified letter written by Steele on his behalf to Lintot, the bookseller. Mr. Lintot was assured that when Mr Addison thought fit to take notice of Mr. Dennis's objections to his writings, he would do it in a way that Mr. Dennis should have no just reason to complain of. This well-merited rebuke was, no doubt, a leading cause of the rancour which afterwards found vent in Pope's celebrated satire on Addison, published after the death of his former friend.

6 *Last Years*.—The death of Queen Anne on August 1, 1714, restored the Whigs to power. Pending the arrival of George I. provisional administrators were appointed, entitled '*Lords Justices*,' to whom Addison was made secretary. When the new king arrived, Sunderland was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and Addison again became Chief Secretary. He held this office only for ten months till Sunderland's

xxxviii *LIFE AND WRITINGS OF ADDISON*

resignation, after which he was made one of the Lords Commissioners of Trade.

In 1715, he produced anonymously his comedy 'The Drummer,' which was published in the following year by Steele in the hope that, though it had failed on the stage, it would be appreciated by intelligent readers.

The Scotch rebellion of 1715 called forth Addison's powers as a political essay-writer in the *Freeholder*, to which he contributed a series of fifty-five papers designed to win the support of the squires and country parsons, who were generally Tories, for the House of Brunswick. Among these papers appeared his humorous sketches of the Tory foxhunter, which excited the admiration even of Dr. Johnson. The value of his political service to the Whig party was recognised by his promotion in the spring of 1717 to the post of Secretary of State

In the previous year, after long courtship, he had married the Dowager Countess of Warwick. Only one child, a daughter, was born of this marriage, she was of weak intellect, but lived to an advanced age at Bilton, where she died in 1797. No reliance can be placed on the gossip, to which Dr. Johnson gave later currency in his 'Life of Addison', he represented the union as resembling those Eastern marriages in which a Sultan presented a man to his daughter to be her slave. As Mr. Courthope has shown, what positive evidence we have of a trustworthy kind contradicts the story that Addison was an unhappy and 'hen-pecked' husband. That he had felt some resentment, however, on account of the long hesitation of the Countess, may perhaps be inferred from his lively sketch of 'demurrers' in No. 89 of the *Spectator*, and from some satirical touches in the story of Hilpa and Shalum. The point will be found more fully discussed in the note to page 91, line 34.

In March 1718 his health broke down, and he retired on

a pension of £1500 a year. He still continued to busy himself with literary work, especially with the materials for his 'Evidences of the Christian Religion,' which he did not live to complete, and which was published after his death in Tickell's edition of his works. In March 1719 he answered in the *Old Whig* an attack made by Steele in the *Plebeian* on Sunderland's bill for limiting the creation of peers. Steele retorted with acrimony, and Addison made a severe rejoinder. Steele returned to the attack, but his last paper remained unanswered; Addison was already dying. It was an unfortunate breach of their long friendship, but would doubtless have been followed by reconciliation had not death supervened. Another attack of the asthma which had caused his resignation two years before was complicated by dropsy, and he died at Holland House on June 17, 1719.

The cheerful piety and resignation to the Divine will which had supported him through life did not desert him on his death-bed. His end was that of a model Christian gentleman. His body was buried in Westminster Abbey, whither his friend and successor in office, Craggs, followed him only a few months later.

VIII.—ADDISON'S CHARACTER AND THE SATIRE OF POPE

1. *Addison and Macaulay compared.*—In some respects there was a considerable resemblance between the subject and the author of the essay on Addison. Both were men of high character, without strong passions, amiable and unselfish in their private relations, thoroughly disinterested as statesmen. Both were strenuous Whigs. Each of them was truly representative of the best culture of his own day; both rose to eminence through their literary talents. But here the parallel

ends There was no touch of Macaulay's self-sufficiency¹ and intolerance in Addison, nor was there any trace of Addison's deeply-rooted piety in Macaulay. Addison seems to have been destitute of the powers of oratory which distinguished the Victorian statesman and assisted in his rise, but the latter never attained in public life to the extraordinary personal popularity that Addison's modesty and sweetness of nature won for him even in the ranks of his political opponents. In an age when the bitterness of party feeling far surpassed anything that recent times have seen in England, the one steadily discountenanced the excesses of party zeal, the other, in a milder age, was firmly convinced and consistently maintained that every Tory must be a knave, unless he were a fool. The one was dominated by strong antipathies not only to men of his own time, but to many historical characters, the other passed through life, as far as we can discover, without making a single enemy, except the malignant Pope. Even Swift was unable to withstand his charm, and the few letters of Addison to Swift that have been preserved are eloquent testimonies to Addison's warm and generous appreciation of the Dean and to the sincere pleasure which he derived from his friendship.

2. *Pope's Satire*.—Even with Pope he strove earnestly to maintain cordial relations. He extolled his genius in the *Spectator* with discriminating eulogy, and in two letters written towards the close of the autumn of 1713 he evinced a lively interest in the translation of Homer, freely offered his services to Pope in promoting the subscriptions, paid him a handsome compliment, and invited him to his country house: 'If you think I can in any way contribute to the forwarding of your proposals, you cannot lay a greater obligation upon me, than by employing me in such an office. As I have an ambition of having it known that you are my friend, I shall be very proud of showing it by this or any other instance. I

question not but your translation will enrich our tongue and do honour to our country. . . . The work . . . will, I am afraid, never be executed by any other; at least I know none of this age that is equal to it besides yourself. . . . I wish I might hope to see you here some time, and will not despair of it, when you engage in a work that will require solitude and retirement.'

Could anything be kinder or more friendly to the young poet, whose acquaintance he had only made in the previous year? And unless we are prepared to ascribe to the writer the odious vice of hypocritical insincerity, of which no one ever accused him, how is it possible to reconcile the expressions of this letter with an unworthy jealousy of Pope's poetical renown? Yet the poisoned arrow of Pope's satire has done its work so well that not only Dr. Johnson, but even Macaulay, Thackeray, Mr. Leslie Stephen, and Mr. Courthope have made no defence, or only a half-hearted one, against this charge.

The utter baselessness of most of the other aspersions contained in the satire has been amply demonstrated by Macaulay and others. The only charge in which there appears to be a distorted image of the truth is that of being rather too partial to the adulation of a little coterie of devoted followers, 'in his favourite temple at Button's,' a coterie consisting of men who were greatly his inferiors in ability.

3. *Pope and Addison contrasted*—The history of the relations of Addison with Pope has been admirably presented by Mr. Courthope in chapter vii. of his biography. The truth seems to be that Pope was jealous of Addison, not Addison of Pope, and that there was a real incompatibility of character. Addison was a perfect gentleman, Pope had the uneasy vanity and the lack of repose of the 'parvenu.' Addison's charity was so wide and his nature so kindly that he never once abused his great gifts of wit and humour to inflict a wound. Pope nursed every injury, real or imaginary, and revenged

it with pointed 'shafts of hate and scorn' How was it possible for Addison not to feel, and to show that he felt, disapproval of the gross misuse that Pope made of his great powers?

4. *Addison and Steele on Personal Satire.*—In disapproval of personal satire Addison and Steele were at one. In the twenty-third number of the *Spectator*, written in March 1711, Addison observed: 'There is nothing that more betrays a base ungenerous spirit than the giving of secret stabs to a man's reputation. Lampoons and satires, that are written with wit and spirit, are like poisoned darts, which not only inflict a wound, but make it incurable. *For this reason I am very much troubled when I see the talents of humour and ridicule in the possession of an ill-natured man. . . . For my part, I would never trust a man that I thought was capable of giving these secret wounds.*'

In No. 422 of the *Spectator*, published in July 1712, Steele wrote a paper on raillery, in which his characters of Callisthenes and Acetus seem clearly intended to portray Addison and Pope respectively: 'I do not know anything which gives greater disturbance to conversation than the false notion some people have of raillery. . . . *A man who has no good quality but courage*, is in a very ill way towards making an agreeable figure in the world, because that which he has superior to other people cannot be exerted without raising himself an enemy. Your gentleman of a satirical vein is in the like condition. To say a thing which perplexes the breast of him you speak to, or brings blushes into his face, is a degree of murder. . . .

'Callisthenes has great wit, accompanied with that quality without which a man can have no wit at all—a sound judgment. This gentleman rallies the best of any man I know; for he forms his ridicule upon a circumstance which you are in your heart not unwilling to grant him; to wit, that you

are guilty of an excess in something that is in itself laudable. . . . Callisthenes does this with inimitable pleasantry. . . . Acetus is of a quite contrary genius and *is more generally admired than Callisthenes, but not with justice.* Acetus has no regard to the modesty or weakness of the person he rallies ; but if his quality or humility gives him any superiority to the man he would fall upon, he has no mercy in making the onset. He can be pleased to see his best friend out of countenance, while the laugh is loud in his own applause. His raillery always puts the company into little divisions and separate interests, while that of Callisthenes cements it, and makes every man not only better pleased with himself, but also with all the rest in the conversation

‘To rally well, it is absolutely necessary that kindness must run through all you say ; and you must ever observe the character of a friend to support your pretensions to be free with a man. *Acetus ought to be banished human society, because he raises his mirth upon giving pain to the person upon whom he is pleasant.* Nothing but the malevolence which is too general towards those who excel could make his company tolerated , but they with whom he converses are sure to see some man sacrificed, wherever he is admitted , and all the credit he has for wit, is owing to the gratification it gives to other men’s ill-nature.’

It can scarcely be doubted that in both these passages the writers had Pope in mind. Addison, at least, passed from general remarks to a mild personal remonstrance, which he attached to his very kindly notice of the essay on Criticism in December 1711. But his gentle rebuke failed of its purpose and only succeeded in irritating the satirist.

5. *Alleged Intemperance.*—The only other weaknesses which have been traditionally attributed to Addison are shyness and constraint in the presence of strangers, and a tendency to ‘convivial excess.’ The former, if it can be regarded as a

serious failing at all, is assuredly one of those that 'lean to virtue's side' The latter appears to have been greatly exaggerated, even by Macaulay The case has been impartially summed up by Mr. Courthope in chapter viii of his biography, and he concludes 'To suppose that he indulged a sensual appetite to excess is contrary alike to what we know of his character and to the direct evidence of Bishop Berkeley. . .' To this testimony may be added the following passage in Addison's paper, No. 195, on Temperance 'Were I to prescribe a rule for drinking, it should be formed upon a saying of Sir William Temple "The first glass for myself, the second for my friends, the third for good humour, and the fourth for mine enemies." But because it is impossible for one who lives in the world to diet himself always in so philosophical a manner, I think every man should have his days of abstinence, according as his constitution will permit These are great reliefs to nature, as they qualify her for struggling with hunger and thirst, whenever any distemper, or duty of life, may put her upon such difficulties : and at the same time give her an opportunity of extricating herself from her oppressions and recovering the several tones and springs of her distended vessels Besides that, abstinence, well timed, often kills a sickness in embryo, and destroys the first seeds of an indisposition.'

6. That Addison's moral strength was as great in practice as in precept, we have evidence in a remarkable letter of his, undated and unaddressed, written to a married lady. Internal evidence seems to us to make it probable that the letter was addressed to the witty and beautiful niece of Isaac Newton, Catherine Barton, who is thought by some to have been secretly married to Montague, Addison's patron.

IX.—THE GENIUS OF ADDISON

1. *Poems and Dramas* —Of the poetical and dramatic works of Addison mention has been made in the notes to the text of Macaulay's essay. Had Addison written nothing else, it has been truly said, his name would have been no more to us than those of the crowd of nonentities who fill most of the pages of Johnson's 'Lives of the Poets.' It is by his prose essays in the *Tatler* and the *Spectator* that he has become an English classic. As with Macaulay, so with him, poetry was an exotic, his prose a natural product of a fertile soil. The only verse of Addison's that forms a partial exception to this criticism is the series of 'Divine Odes,' in which the strength of the devotional feeling that lay at the roots of his character raises his lines almost into poetry.

2. *Humour, Wit, and Wisdom of the Spectator*.—To the delightful humour of Addison's essays and to his apparently inexhaustible fertility and range of sympathies, Macaulay has done full justice. But not so much stress has been laid on his admirable 'wit and wisdom,' specimens of which deserve at least as well to be collected as those of R. L. S. · 'Stoicism, which is the pedantry of virtue', 'The mind never unbends itself so agreeably as in the conversation of a well-chosen friend'; 'It is a pity that he has so much learning, or that he has not a great deal more' (Is not this the source of Pope's famous line about 'A little learning' ?); 'In his case it is not religion that sours a man's temper, but it is his temper that sours his religion', 'In short she is so good a Christian, that whatever happens to herself is a trial, and whatever happens to her neighbour is a judgment.'

The selection of seven typical examples of Addison's powers, which Macaulay has given on page 66, is not, perhaps, an entirely satisfactory one. The second, 'Visit to the Abbey,' is, on the whole, a less perfect specimen of Addison's humour

in the Coverley papers than No 122, 'Sir Roger at the Assizes, while the list should certainly have included one of the characteristic papers on feminine subjects, such as the witty 'Letter on the Hoop-petticoat'

3 *Addison and Steele*—The essayists of the *Tatler* and the *Spectator* were not only remarkable literary innovators, but remarkably successful moralists. The profligacy of the stage had been to some extent purged by the zeal of Jeremy Collier, but it was reserved for Addison and Steele to purify the taste and morals of a society in which the evil traditions of Charles II.'s court still lingered. And in this important work it was Steele who led the way and Addison who followed. Macaulay has most unfairly robbed Steele of the credit which is his due both as a man of letters and as a moralist. So effective has been his depreciation that up till now the place which should by right be given to Steele in such a series as the 'English Men of Letters' has been denied to him. In his essay on Steele Mr. Forster pointed out long ago that both in literary criticism and in moral reformation it was Steele who acted as pioneer in the *Tatler*. The first denunciation of duelling, the first condemnation of the fashionable contempt for virtue and morality came from his pen; it was he who first had the courage to vindicate the fame of Milton's poetry and of Shakespeare's dramas, long obscured by the court prejudices and false taste of the Restoration period. As a stylist, indeed, he cannot be compared with Addison, he is too careless and incorrect, he had neither Addison's perfect lucidity nor his ear for the harmonies of rhythm. But he is always natural and animated, where his feelings are deeply roused, he is genuinely impressive, and his humour, if inferior to that of Addison, is kindly and genial.

But when full justice has been rendered to Steele's share in the social and literary revolution, we must recognise that without Addison it would not have been so easily or so

thoroughly effected. To Addison, therefore, belongs the chief credit for having created a sound public opinion on matters of taste, morals, and religion. To him especially we owe it that impiety and profligacy, rowdiness and ignorance, ceased to be considered the natural and proper characteristics of a gentleman, that the name of God was restored to veneration, the institution of marriage and the dignity of the home to respect, and the greatest literary glories of the English people to their rightful heritage of love and honour

THE
LIFE AND WRITINGS OF ADDISON

THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF ADDISON

(JULY, 1843)

The Life of Joseph Addison. By LUCY AIKIN.
2 vols. 8vo London 1843

SOME reviewers are of opinion that a lady who dares to publish a book renounces by that act the franchises appertaining to her sex, and can claim no exemption from the utmost rigour of critical procedure. From that opinion we dissent. We admit, indeed, that in a country which boasts 5 of many female writers, eminently qualified by their talents and acquirements to influence the public mind, it would be of most pernicious consequence that inaccurate history or unsound philosophy should be suffered to pass uncensured, merely because the offender chanced to be a lady. But we 10 conceive that, on such occasions, a critic would do well to imitate the courteous Knight who found himself compelled by duty to keep the lists against Bradamante. He, we are told, defended successfully the cause of which he was the champion, but, before the fight began, exchanged Balisarda 15 for a less deadly sword, of which he carefully blunted the point and edge¹

Nor are the immunities of sex the only immunities which Miss Aikin may rightfully plead. Several of her works, and especially the very pleasing Memoirs of the Reign of James 20 the First, have fully entitled her to the privileges enjoyed by

¹ Orlando Furioso, xlv 68.

good writers. One of those privileges we hold to be this, that such writers, when, either from the unlucky choice of a subject, or from the indolence too often produced by success, they happen to fail, shall not be subjected to the severe
5 discipline which it is sometimes necessary to inflict upon dunces and impostors, but shall merely be reminded by a gentle touch, like that with which the Laputan flapper roused his dreaming lord, that it is high time to wake

Our readers will probably infer from what we have said
10 that Miss Aikin's book has disappointed us. The truth is, that she is not well acquainted with her subject. No person who is not familiar with the political and literary history of England during the reigns of William the Third, of Anne, and of George the First, can possibly write a good life of
15 Addison. Now, we mean no reproach to Miss Aikin, and many will think that we pay her a compliment, when we say that her studies have taken a different direction. She is better acquainted with Shakspeare and Raleigh, than with Congreve and Prior; and is far more at home among the
20 ruffs and peaked beards of Theobalds, than among the Steenkirks and flowing periwigs which surrounded Queen Anne's tea table at Hampton. She seems to have written about the Elizabethan age, because she had read much about it; she seems, on the other hand, to have read a little about
25 the age of Addison, because she had determined to write about it. The consequence is that she has had to describe men and things without having either a correct or a vivid idea of them, and that she has often fallen into errors of a very serious kind. The reputation which Miss Aikin has justly
30 earned stands so high, and the charm of Addison's letters is so great, that a second edition of this work may probably be required. If so, we hope that every paragraph will be revised, and that every date and fact about which there can be the smallest doubt will be carefully verified.

35 To Addison himself we are bound by a sentiment as much like affection as any sentiment can be, which is inspired by one who has been sleeping a hundred and twenty

years in Westminster Abbey. We trust, however, that this feeling will not betray us into that abject idolatry which we have often had occasion to reprehend in others, and which seldom fails to make both the idolater and the idol ridiculous. A man of genius and virtue is but a man. All his powers cannot be equally developed, nor can we expect from him perfect selfknowledge. We need not, therefore, hesitate to admit that Addison has left us some compositions which do not rise above mediocrity, some heroic poems hardly equal to Parnell's, some criticism as superficial as Dr. Blair's, and a tragedy not very much better than Dr. Johnson's. It is praise enough to say of a writer that, in a high department of literature, in which many eminent writers have distinguished themselves, he has had no equal; and this may with strict justice be said of Addison.

As a man, he may not have deserved the adoration which he received from those who, bewitched by his fascinating society, and indebted for all the comforts of life to his generous and delicate friendship, worshipped him nightly, in his favourite temple at Button's. But, after full enquiry and impartial reflection, we have long been convinced that he deserved as much love and esteem as can be justly claimed by any of our infirm and erring race. Some blemishes may undoubtedly be detected in his character, but the more carefully it is examined, the more will it appear, to use the phrase of the old anatomists, sound in the noble parts, free from all taint of perfidy, of cowardice, of cruelty, of ingratitude, of envy. Men may easily be named, in whom some particular good disposition has been more conspicuous than in Addison. But the just harmony of qualities, the exact temper between the stern and the humane virtues, the habitual observance of every law, not only of moral rectitude, but of moral grace and dignity, distinguish him from all men who have been tried by equally strong temptations, and about whose conduct we possess equally full information.

His father was the Reverend Lancelot Addison, who, though eclipsed by his more celebrated son, made some figure

- in the world, and occupies with credit two folio pages in the *Biographia Britannica*. Lancelot was sent up, as a poor scholar, from Westmoreland to Queen's College, Oxford, in the time of the Commonwealth, made some progress in
- 5 learning, became, like most of his fellow students, a violent Royalist, lampooned the heads of the University, and was forced to ask pardon on his bended knees. When he had left college, he earned a humble subsistence by reading the liturgy of the fallen Church to the families of those sturdy
- 10 squares whose manor houses were scattered over the Wild of Sussex. After the Restoration, his loyalty was rewarded with the post of chaplain to the garrison of Dunkirk. When Dunkirk was sold to France, he lost his employment. But
- 15 Tangier had been ceded by Portugal to England as part of the marriage portion of the Infanta Catharine, and to Tangier Lancelot Addison was sent. A more miserable situation can hardly be conceived. It was difficult to say whether the unfortunate settlers were more tormented by the heats or by the rains, by the soldiers within the wall or by
- 20 the Moors without it. One advantage the chaplain had. He enjoyed an excellent opportunity of studying the history and manners of Jews and Mahometans, and of this opportunity he appears to have made excellent use. On his return to England, after some years of banishment, he published an
- 25 interesting volume on the Polity and Religion of Barbary, and another on the Hebrew Customs and the State of Rabbinical Learning. He rose to eminence in his profession, and became one of the royal chaplains, a Doctor of Divinity, Archdeacon of Salisbury, and Dean of Lichfield. It is said
- 30 that he would have been made a bishop after the Revolution, if he had not given offence to the government by strenuously opposing, in the Convocation of 1689, the liberal policy of William and Tillotson.

- In 1672, not long after Dr Addison's return from
- 35 Tangier, his son Joseph was born. Of Joseph's childhood we know little. He learned his rudiments at schools in his father's neighbourhood, and was then sent to the Charter

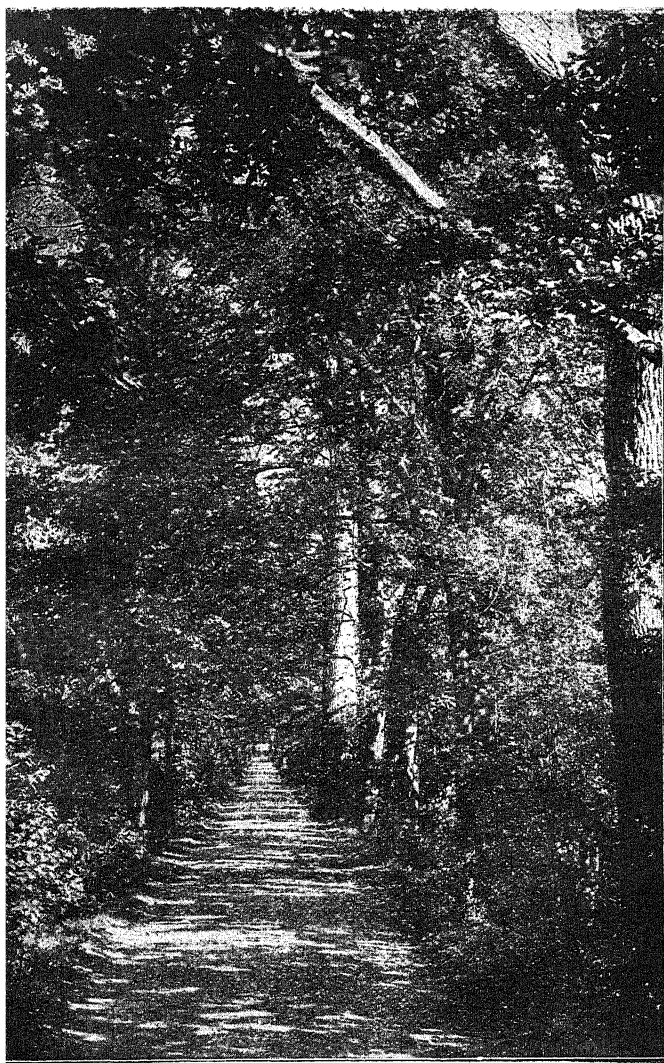
House. The anecdotes which are popularly related about his boyish tricks do not harmonise very well with what we know of his riper years. There remains a tradition that he was the ringleader in a barring out, and another tradition that he ran away from school and hid himself in a wood, 5 where he fed on berries and slept in a hollow tree, till after a long search he was discovered and brought home. If these stories be true, it would be curious to know by what moral discipline so mutinous and enterprising a lad was transformed into the gentlest and most modest of men. 10

We have abundant proof that, whatever Joseph's pranks may have been, he pursued his studies vigorously and successfully. At fifteen he was not only fit for the university, but carried thither a classical taste and a stock of learning which would have done honour to a Master of Arts. He 15 was entered at Queen's College, Oxford, but he had not been many months there, when some of his Latin verses fell by accident into the hands of Dr. Lancaster, Dean of Magdalene College. The young scholar's diction and versification were already such as veteran professors might envy. Dr. Lancaster 20 was desirous to serve a boy of such promise; nor was an opportunity long wanting. The Revolution had just taken place, and nowhere had it been hailed with more delight than at Magdalene College. That great and opulent corporation had been treated by James, and by his Chancellor, 25 with an insolence and injustice which, even in such a Prince and in such a Minister, may justly excite amazement, and which had done more than even the prosecution of the Bishops to alienate the Church of England from the throne. A president, duly elected, had been violently expelled 30 from his dwelling: a Papist had been set over the society by a royal mandate: the Fellows who, in conformity with their oaths, had refused to submit to this usurper, had been driven forth from their quiet cloisters and gardens, to die of want or to live on charity. But the day of redress 35 and retribution speedily came. The intruders were ejected. the venerable House was again inhabited by its old inmates :

learning flourished under the rule of the wise and virtuous Hough, and with learning was united a mild and liberal spirit too often wanting in the princely colleges of Oxford. In consequence of the troubles through which the society had
 5 passed, there had been no valid election of new members during the year 1688. In 1689, therefore, there was twice the ordinary number of vacancies, and thus Dr. Lancaster found it easy to procure for his young friend admittance to the advantages of a foundation then generally esteemed the
 10 wealthiest in Europe

At Magdalene Addison resided during ten years. He was, at first, one of those scholars who are called Demies, but was subsequently elected a fellow. His college is still proud of his name. his portrait still hangs in the hall, and
 15 strangers are still told that his favourite walk was under the elms which fringe the meadow on the banks of the Cherwell. It is said, and is highly probable, that he was distinguished among his fellow students by the delicacy of his feelings, by the shyness of his manners, and by the assiduity
 20 with which he often prolonged his studies far into the night. It is certain that his reputation for ability and learning stood high. Many years later, the ancient Doctors of Magdalene continued to talk in their common room of his boyish compositions, and expressed their sorrow that no copy of exercises so remarkable had been preserved.

It is proper, however, to remark that Miss Aikin has committed the error, very pardonable in a lady, of overrating Addison's classical attainments. In one department of learning, indeed, his proficiency was such as it is hardly possible to overrate. His knowledge of the Latin poets, from
 30 Lucretius and Catullus down to Claudian and Prudentius, was singularly exact and profound. He understood them thoroughly, entered into their spirit, and had the finest and most discriminating perception of all their peculiarities of
 35 style and melody, nay, he copied their manner with admirable skill, and surpassed, we think, all their British imitators who had preceded him, Buchanan and Milton alone excepted.



ADDISON'S WALK (MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD)

(From a photograph)

This is high praise, and beyond this we cannot with justice go. It is clear that Addison's serious attention, during his residence at the university, was almost entirely concentrated on Latin poetry, and that, if he did not wholly neglect other
 5 provinces of ancient literature, he vouchsafed to them only a cursory glance. He does not appear to have attained more than an ordinary acquaintance with the political and moral writers of Rome, nor was his own Latin prose by any means equal to his Latin verse. His knowledge of Greek, though
 10 doubtless such as was, in his time, thought respectable at Oxford, was evidently less than that which many lads now carry away every year from Eton and Rugby. A minute examination of his works, if we had time to make such an examination, would fully bear out these remarks. We will
 15 briefly advert to a few of the facts on which our judgment is grounded.

Great praise is due to the Notes which Addison appended to his version of the second and third books of the *Metamorphoses*. Yet those notes, while they show him to have been,
 20 in his own domain, an accomplished scholar, show also how confined that domain was. They are rich in apposite references to Virgil, Statius, and Claudian, but they contain not a single illustration drawn from the Greek poets. Now, if, in the whole compass of Latin literature, there be a pas-
 25 sage which stands in need of illustration drawn from the Greek poets, it is the story of Pentheus in the third book of the *Metamorphoses*. Ovid was indebted for that story to Euripides and Theocritus, both of whom he has sometimes followed minutely. But neither to Euripides nor to Theo-
 30 critus does Addison make the faintest allusion, and we, therefore, believe that we do not wrong him by supposing that he had little or no knowledge of their works.

His travels in Italy, again, abound with classical quotations, happily introduced; but scarcely one of those quo-
 35 tations is in prose. He draws more illustrations from Ausonius and Manilius than from Cicero. Even his notions of the political and military affairs of the Romans seem to be

derived from poets and poetasters. Spots made memorable by events which have changed the destinies of the world, and which have been worthily recorded by great historians, bring to his mind only scraps of some ancient versifier. In the gorge of the Apennines he naturally remembers the hardships which Hannibal's army endured, and proceeds to cite, not the authentic narrative of Polybius, not the picturesque narrative of Livy, but the languid hexameters of Silius Italicus. On the banks of the Rubicon he never thinks of Plutarch's lively description, or of the stern conciseness of the Commentaries, or of those letters to Atticus which so forcibly express the alternations of hope and fear in a sensitive mind at a great crisis. His only authority for the events of the civil war is Lucan.

All the best ancient works of art at Rome and Florence are Greek. Addison saw them, however, without recalling one single verse of Pindar, of Callimachus, or of the Attic dramatists, but they brought to his recollection innumerable passages of Horace, Juvenal, Statius, and Ovid.

The same may be said of the Treatise on Medals. In that pleasing work we find about three hundred passages extracted with great judgment from the Roman poets, but we do not recollect a single passage taken from any Roman orator or historian; and we are confident that not a line is quoted from any Greek writer. No person, who had derived all his information on the subject of medals from Addison, would suspect that the Greek coins were in historical interest equal, and in beauty of execution far superior, to those of Rome.

If it were necessary to find any further proof that Addison's classical knowledge was confined within narrow limits, that proof would be furnished by his Essay on the Evidences of Christianity. The Roman poets throw little or no light on the literary and historical questions which he is under the necessity of examining in that Essay. He is, therefore, left completely in the dark, and it is melancholy to see how helplessly he gropes his way from blunder to



JOSEPH ADDISON

blunder. He assigns, as grounds for his religious belief, stories as absurd as that of the Cock-Lane ghost, and forgeries as rank as Ireland's Vortigern, puts faith in the lie about the Thundering Legion, is convinced that Tiberius moved the senate to admit Jesus among the gods, and 5 pronounces the letter of Agbarus King of Edessa to be a record of great authority. Nor were these errors the effects of superstition; for to superstition Addison was by no means prone. The truth is that he was writing about what he did not understand. 10

Miss Aikin has discovered a letter, from which it appears that, while Addison resided at Oxford, he was one of several writers whom the booksellers engaged to make an English version of Herodotus, and she infers that he must have been a good Greek scholar. We can allow very little 15 weight to this argument, when we consider that his fellow labourers were to have been Boyle and Blackmore. Boyle is remembered chiefly as the nominal author of the worst book on Greek history and philology that ever was printed, and this book, bad as it is, Boyle was unable to produce 20 without help. Of Blackmore's attainments in the ancient tongues, it may be sufficient to say that, in his prose, he has confounded an aphorism with an apophthegm, and that when, in his verse, he treats of classical subjects, his habits is to regale his readers with four false quantities to a page 25

It is probable that the classical acquirements of Addison were of as much service to him as if they had been more extensive. The world generally gives its admiration, not to the man who does what nobody else even attempts to do, but to the man who does best what multitudes do well 30 Bentley was so immeasurably superior to all the other scholars of his time that few among them could discover his superiority. But the accomplishment in which Addison excelled his contemporaries was then, as it is now, highly valued and assiduously cultivated at all English 35 seats of learning. Every body who had been at a public school had written Latin verses, many had written

such verses with tolerable success, and were quite able to appreciate, though by no means able to rival, the skill with which Addison imitated Virgil. His lines on the Barometer and the Bowling Green were applauded by hundreds, 5 to whom the Dissertation on the Epistles of Phalaris was as unintelligible as the hieroglyphics on an obelisk.

Purity of style, and an easy flow of numbers, are common to all Addison's Latin poems. Our favourite piece is the Battle of the Cranes and Pygmies; for in that piece we 10 discern a gleam of the fancy and humour which many years later enlivened thousands of breakfast tables. Swift boasted that he was never known to steal a hint, and he certainly owed as little to his predecessors as any modern writer. Yet we cannot help suspecting that he borrowed, 15 perhaps unconsciously, one of the happiest touches in his Voyage to Lilliput from Addison's verses. Let our readers judge.

'The Emperor,' says Gulliver, 'is taller by about the breadth of my nail than any of his court, which alone is 20 enough to strike an awe into the beholders'

About thirty years before Gulliver's Travels appeared Addison wrote these lines:

25 *'Jamque acies inter medias sese arduus infert
Pygmeadum ductor, qui, majestate verendus,
Incessuque gravis, reliquos supereminet omnes
Mole gigantea, medianque exsurgit in ulnam'*

The Latin poems of Addison were greatly and justly admired both at Oxford and Cambridge, before his name had ever been heard by the wits who thronged the coffeehouses 30 round Drury Lane theatre. In his twenty-second year, he ventured to appear before the public as a writer of English verse. He addressed some complimentary lines to Dryden, who, after many triumphs and many reverses, had at length reached a secure and lonely eminence among the literary men 35 of that age. Dryden appears to have been much gratified by the young scholar's praise; and an interchange of civilities

and good offices followed. Addison was probably introduced by Dryden to Congreve, and was certainly presented by Congreve to Charles Montague, who was then Chancellor of the Exchequer, and leader of the Whig party in the House of Commons 5

At this time Addison seemed inclined to devote himself to poetry. He published a translation of part of the fourth Georgic, Lines to King William, and other performances of equal value, that is to say, of no value at all. But in those days, the public was in the habit of receiving with applause 10 pieces which would now have little chance of obtaining the Newdigate prize or the Seatonian prize. And the reason is obvious. The heroic couplet was then the favourite measure. The art of arranging words in that measure, so that the lines may flow smoothly, that the accents may fall correctly, that 15 the rhymes may strike the ear strongly, and that there may be a pause at the end of every distich, is an art as mechanical as that of mending a kettle, or shoeing a horse, and may be learned by any human being who has sense enough to learn any thing. But, like other mechanical arts, it was gradually 20 improved by means of many experiments and many failures. It was reserved for Pope to discover the trick, to make himself complete master of it, and to teach it to every body else. From the time when his Pastorals appeared, heroic versification became matter of rule and compass, and, before long, 25 all artists were on a level. Hundreds of dunces who never blundered on one happy thought or expression were able to write reams of couplets which, as far as euphony was concerned, could not be distinguished from those of Pope himself, and which very clever writers of the reign of Charles the 30 Second, Rochester, for example, or Marvel, or Oldham, would have contemplated with admiring despair.

Ben Jonson was a great man, Hoole a very small man. But Hoole, coming after Pope, had learned how to manufacture decasyllable verses, and poured them forth by 35 thousands and tens of thousands, all as well turned, as smooth, and as like each other as the blocks which have

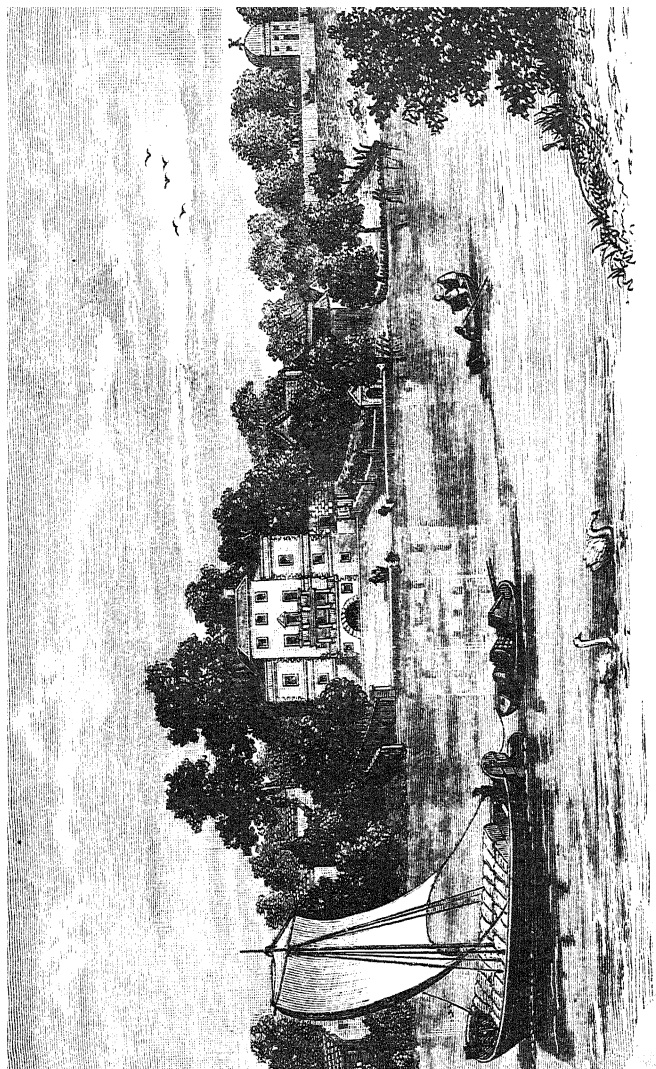
passed through Mr. Brunel's mill, in the dockyard at Portsmouth. Ben's heroic couplets resemble blocks rudely hewn out by an unpractised hand, with a blunt hatchet. Take as a specimen his translation of a celebrated passage in the *Æneid*

10 ‘ This child our parent earth, stir’d up with spite
Of all the gods, brought forth, and, as some write,
She was last sister of that giant race
That sought to scale Jove’s court, right swift of pace,
And swifter far of wing, a monster vast
And dreadful Look, how many plumes are placed
On her huge corpse, so many waking eyes
Stick underneath, and, which may stranger rise
In the report, as many tongues she wears.’

15 Compare with these jagged misshapen distichs the neat fabric which Hoole’s machine produces in unlimited abundance. We take the first lines on which we open in his version of Tasso. They are neither better nor worse than the rest :

20 ‘ O thou, whose’er thou art, whose steps are led,
By choice or fate, these lonely shores to tread,
No greater wonders east or west can boast
Than yon small island on the pleasing coast.
If e’er thy sight would blissful scenes explore,
25 The current pass, and seek the further shore.’

Ever since the time of Pope there has been a glut of lines of this sort, and we are now as little disposed to admire a man for being able to write them, as for being able to write his name. But in the days of William the Third such
30 versification was rare, and a rhymers who had any skill in it passed for a great poet, just as in the dark ages a person who could write his name passed for a great clerk. Accordingly, Duke, Stepney, Granville, Walsh, and others whose only title to fame was that they said in tolerable metre
35 what might have been as well said in prose, or what was not worth saying at all, were honoured with marks of distinction



POPE'S VILLA

(From a print dated 1785)

which ought to be reserved for genius. With these Addison must have ranked, if he had not earned true and lasting glory by performances which very little resembled his juvenile poems.

- 5 Dryden was now busied with Virgil, and obtained from Addison a critical preface to the *Georgics*. In return for this service, and for other services of the same kind, the veteran poet, in the postscript to the translation of the *Æneid*, complimented his young friend with great liberality, and indeed with more liberality than sincerity. He affected
10 to be afraid that his own performance would not sustain a comparison with the version of the fourth *Georgic*, by 'the most ingenious Mr Addison of Oxford.' 'After his bees,' added Dryden, 'my latter swarm is scarcely worth the hiving'
- 15 The time had now arrived when it was necessary for Addison to choose a calling. Every thing seemed to point his course towards the clerical profession. His habits were regular, his opinions orthodox. His college had large ecclesiastical preferment in its gift, and boasts that it has
20 given at least one bishop to almost every see in England. Dr. Lancelot Addison held an honourable place in the Church, and had set his heart on seeing his son a clergyman. It is clear, from some expressions in the young man's rhymes, that his intention was to take orders. But Charles Montague
25 interfered. Montague had first brought himself into notice by verses, well timed and not contemptibly written, but never, we think, rising above mediocrity. Fortunately for himself and for his country, he early quitted poetry, in which he could never have attained a rank as high as that of Dorset or
30 Rochester, and turned his mind to official and parliamentary business. It is written that the ingenious person who undertook to instruct Rasselas, prince of Abyssinia, in the art of flying, ascended an eminence, waved his wings, sprang into the air, and instantly dropped into the lake. But it is
35 added that the wings, which were unable to support him through the sky, bore him up effectually as soon as he was in the water. This is no bad type of the fate of Charles

Montague, and of men like him. When he attempted to soar into the regions of poetical invention, he altogether failed ; but, as soon as he had descended from that ethereal elevation into a lower and grosser element, his talents instantly raised him above the mass. He became a distinguished financier, debater, courtier, and party leader. 5 He still retained his fondness for the pursuits of his early days ; but he showed that fondness, not by weaying the public with his own feeble performances, but by discovering and encouraging literary excellence in others. A crowd of wits and poets, who would easily have vanquished him as a competitor, revered him as a judge and a patron. In his plans for the encouragement of learning, he was cordially supported by the ablest and most virtuous of his colleagues, the Lord Chancellor Somers. Though both these great statesmen had a sincere love of letters, it was not solely from a love of letters that they were desirous to enlist youths of high intellectual qualifications in the public service. The Revolution had altered the whole system of government. Before that event, the press had been controlled by censors, 20 and the Parliament had sat only two months in eight years. Now the press was free, and had begun to exercise unprecedented influence on the public mind. Parliament met annually and sat long. The chief power in the State had passed to the House of Commons. At such a conjuncture, it was natural that literary and oratorical talents should rise in value. There was danger that a government which neglected such talents might be subverted by them. It was, therefore, a profound and enlightened policy which led Montague and Somers to attach such talents to the Whig party, by the strongest ties both of interest and of gratitude. 30

It is remarkable that, in a neighbouring country, we have recently seen similar effects follow from similar causes. The Revolution of July 1830 established representative government in France. The men of letters instantly rose to the highest importance in the state. At the present moment, most of the persons whom we see at the head both of the 35

Administration and of the Opposition have been Professors, Historians, Journalists, Poets. The influence of the literary class in England, during the generation which followed the Revolution, was great, but by no means so great as it has lately been in France. For, in England, the aristocracy of intellect had to contend with a powerful and deeply rooted aristocracy of a very different kind. France had no Somersets and Shrewsburies to keep down her Addisons and Priors.

It was in the year 1699, when Addison had just completed his twenty-seventh year, that the course of his life was finally determined. Both the great chiefs of the Ministry were kindly disposed towards him. In political opinions he already was, what he continued to be through life, a firm, though a moderate Whig. He had addressed the most polished and vigorous of his early English lines to Somers, and had dedicated to Montague a Latin poem, truly Virgilian, both in style and rhythm, on the peace of Ryswick. The wish of the young poet's great friends was, it should seem, to employ him in the service of the crown abroad. But an intimate knowledge of the French language was a qualification indispensable to a diplomatist; and this qualification Addison had not acquired. It was, therefore, thought desirable that he should pass some time on the Continent in preparing himself for official employment. His own means were not such as would enable him to travel; but a pension of three hundred pounds a year was procured for him by the interest of the Lord Chancellor. It seems to have been apprehended that some difficulty might be started by the rulers of Magdalene College. But the Chancellor of the Exchequer wrote in the strongest terms to Hough. The State—such was the purport of Montague's letter—could not, at that time, spare to the Church such a man as Addison. Too many high civil posts were already occupied by adventurers, who, destitute of every liberal art and sentiment, at once pillaged and disgraced the country which they pretended to serve. It had become necessary to recruit for the public service from a very different class, from that class

of which Addison was the representative. The close of the Minister's letter was remarkable. 'I am called,' he said, 'an enemy of the Church. But I will never do it any other injury than keeping Mr. Addison out of it.'

This interference was successful; and, in the summer of 5 1699, Addison, made a rich man by his pension, and still retaining his fellowship, quitted his beloved Oxford, and set out on his travels. He crossed from Dover to Calais, proceeded to Paris, and was received there with great kindness and politeness by a kinsman of his friend Montague, 10 Charles Earl of Manchester, who had just been appointed Ambassador to the Court of France. The Countess, a Whig and a toast, was probably as gracious as her lord, for Addison long retained an agreeable recollection of the impression which she at this time made on him, and, in 15 some lively lines written on the glasses of the Kit Cat club, described the envy which her cheeks, glowing with the genuine bloom of England, had excited among the painted beauties of Versailles.

Lewis the Fourteenth was at this time expiating the vices 20 of his youth by a devotion which had no root in reason, and bore no fruit of charity. The servile literature of France had changed its character to suit the changed character of the prince. No book appeared that had not an air of sanctity. Racine, who was just dead, had passed the close of his life 25 in writing sacred dramas; and Dacier was seeking for the Athanasian mysteries in Plato. Addison described this state of things in a short but lively and graceful letter to Montague. Another letter, written about the same time to the Lord Chancellor, conveyed the strongest assurances of 30 gratitude and attachment. 'The only return I can make to your Lordship,' said Addison, 'will be to apply myself entirely to my business.' With this view he quitted Paris and repaired to Blois, a place where it was supposed that the French language was spoken in its highest purity, and where 35 not a single Englishman could be found. Here he passed some months pleasantly and profitably. Of his way of life

at Blois, one of his associates, an Abbé named Philippeaux, gave an account to Joseph Spence. If this account is to be trusted, Addison studied much, mused much, talked little, had fits of absence, and either had no love affairs, or was
 5 too discreet to confide them to the Abbé. A man who, even when surrounded by fellow countrymen and fellow students, had always been remarkably shy and silent, was not likely to be loquacious in a foreign tongue, and among foreign companions. But it is clear from Addison's letters, some of
 10 which were long after published in the *Guardian*, that while he appeared to be absorbed in his own meditations, he was really observing French society with that keen and sly, yet not ill-natured side glance, which was peculiarly his own.

From Blois he returned to Paris, and having now
 15 mastered the French language, found great pleasure in the society of French philosophers and poets. He gave an account, in a letter to Bishop Hough, of two highly interesting conversations, one with Malbranche, the other with Boileau. Malbranche expressed great partiality for the
 20 English, and extolled the genius of Newton, but shook his head when Hobbes was mentioned, and was indeed so unjust as to call the author of the *Leviathan* a poor silly creature. Addison's modesty restrained him from fully relating, in his letter, the circumstances of his introduction to
 25 Boileau. Boileau, having survived the friends and rivals of his youth, old, deaf, and melancholy, lived in retirement, seldom went either to Court or to the Academy, and was almost inaccessible to strangers. Of the English and of English literature he knew nothing. He had hardly heard
 30 the name of Dryden. Some of our countrymen, in the warmth of their patriotism, have asserted that this ignorance must have been affected. We own that we see no ground for such a supposition. English literature was to the French of the age of Lewis the Fourteenth what German literature
 35 was to our own grandfathers. Very few, we suspect, of the accomplished men who, sixty or seventy years ago, used to dine in Leicester Square with Sir Joshua, or at Streatham

with Mrs. Thrale, had the slightest notion that Wieland was one of the first wits and poets, and Lessing, beyond all dispute, the first critic in Europe. Boileau knew just as little about the *Paradise Lost*, and about Absalom and Achitophel, but he had read Addison's Latin poems, and admired them 5 greatly. They had given him, he said, quite a new notion of the state of learning and taste among the English. Johnson will have it that these praises were insincere 'Nothing,' says he, 'is better known of Boileau than that he had an injudicious and peevish contempt of modern Latin, 10 and therefore his profession of regard was probably the effect of his civility rather than approbation.' Now, nothing is better known of Boileau than that he was singularly sparing of compliments. We do not remember that either friendship or fear ever induced him to bestow praise on any 15 composition which he did not approve. On literary questions, his caustic, disdainful, and self-confident spirit rebelled against that authority to which every thing else in France bowed down. He had the spirit to tell Lewis the Fourteenth firmly, and even rudely, that his Majesty knew 20 nothing about poetry, and admired verses which were detestable. What was there in Addison's position that could induce the satirist, whose stern and fastidious temper had been the dread of two generations, to turn sycophant for the first and last time? Nor was Boileau's contempt of modern 25 Latin either injudicious or peevish. He thought, indeed, that no poem of the first order would ever be written in a dead language. And did he think amiss? Has not the experience of centuries confirmed his opinion? Boileau also thought it probable, that, in the best modern Latin, a writer 30 of the Augustan age would have detected ludicrous improprieties. And who can think otherwise? What modern scholar can honestly declare that he sees the smallest impurity in the style of Livy? Yet is it not certain that, in the style of Livy, Pollio, whose taste had been formed on 35 the banks of the Tiber, detected the inelegant idiom of the Po? Has any modern scholar understood Latin better than

Frederic the Great understood French? Yet is it not notorious that Frederic the Great, after reading, speaking, writing French, and nothing but French, during more than half a century, after unlearning his mother tongue in order to learn French, after living familiarly during many years with French associates, could not, to the last, compose in French, without imminent risk of committing some mistake which would have moved a smile in the literary circles of Paris? Do we believe that Erasmus and Fracastorius wrote Latin as well as Dr. Robertson and Sir Walter Scott wrote English? And are there not in the Dissertation on India, the last of Dr. Robertson's works, in *Waverley*, in *Marmion*, Scotticisms at which a London apprentice would laugh? But does it follow, because we think thus, that we can find nothing to admire in the noble *alcaics* of Gray, or in the playful *elegiacs* of Vincent Bourne? Surely not. Nor was Boileau so ignorant or tasteless as to be incapable of appreciating good modern Latin. In the very letter to which Johnson alludes, Boileau says—'Ne croyez pas pourtant que je veuille par là blâmer les vers Latins que vous m'avez envoyés d'un de vos illustres académiciens. Je les ai trouvés fort beaux, et dignes de Vida et de Sannazar, mais non pas d'Horace et de Virgile.' Several poems, in modern Latin, have been praised by Boileau quite as liberally as it was his habit to praise any thing. He says, for example, of the *Père Fraguier's* epigrams, that Catullus seems to have come to life again. But the best proof that Boileau did not feel the undiscerning contempt for modern Latin verses which has been imputed to him, is, that he wrote and published Latin verses in several metres. Indeed it happens, curiously enough, that the most severe censure ever pronounced by him on modern Latin is conveyed in Latin hexameters. We allude to the fragment which begins—

35 'Quid numeris iterum me balbutire Latinis,
 Longe Alpes citra natum de patre Sicambro,
 Musa, jubes?'

For these reasons we feel assured that the praise which

Boileau bestowed on the *Machina Gesticulantes*, and the *Gerano-Pygmæomachia*, was sincere. He certainly opened himself to Addison with a freedom which was a sure indication of esteem. Literature was the chief subject of conversation. The old man talked on his favourite theme much and 5 well, indeed, as his young hearer thought, incomparably well. Boileau had undoubtedly some of the qualities of a great critic. He wanted imagination ; but he had strong sense. His literary code was formed on narrow principles ; but in applying it, he showed great judgment and pene- 10 tration. In mere style, abstracted from the ideas of which style is the garb, his taste was excellent. He was well acquainted with the great Greek writers , and, though unable fully to appreciate their creative genius, admired the majestic simplicity of their manner, and had learned from 15 them to despise bombast and tinsel. It is easy, we think, to discover, in the *Spectator* and the *Guardian*, traces of the influence, in part salutary and in part pernicious, which the mind of Boileau had on the mind of Addison.

While Addison was at Paris, an event took place which 20 made that capital a disagreeable residence for an Englishman and a Whig. Charles, second of the name, King of Spain, died , and bequeathed his dominions to Philip, Duke of Anjou, a younger son of the Dauphin. The King of France, in direct violation of his engagements both with 25 Great Britain and with the States General, accepted the bequest on behalf of his grandson. The House of Bourbon was at the summit of human grandeur. England had been outwitted, and found herself in a situation at once degrading and perilous. The people of France, not presaging the 30 calamities by which they were destined to expiate the perfidy of their Sovereign, went mad with pride and delight. Every man looked as if a great estate had just been left him. ‘The French conversation,’ said Addison, ‘begins to grow insupportable ; that which was before the vainest nation in the 35 world is now worse than ever.’ Sick of the arrogant exultation of the Parisians, and probably foreseeing that the peace

between France and England could not be of long duration, he set off for Italy.

In December 1700¹ he embarked at Marseilles. As he glided along the Ligurian coast, he was delighted by the sight of myrtles and olive trees which retained their verdure under the winter solstice. Soon, however, he encountered one of the black storms of the Mediterranean. The captain of the ship gave up all for lost, and confessed himself to a capuchin who happened to be on board. The English heretic, in the meantime, fortified himself against the terrors of death with devotions of a very different kind. How strong an impression this perilous voyage made on him, appears from the ode, 'How are thy servants blest, O Lord!' which was long after published in the *Spectator*. After some days of discomfort and danger, Addison was glad to land at Savona, and to make his way, over mountains where no road had yet been hewn out by art, to the city of Genoa.

At Genoa, still ruled by her own Doge, and by the nobles whose names were inscribed on her Book of Gold, Addison made a short stay. He admired the narrow streets overhung by long lines of towering palaces, the walls rich with frescoes, the gorgeous temple of the Annunciation, and the tapestries whereon were recorded the long glories of the house of Doria. Thence he hastened to Milan, where he contemplated the Gothic magnificence of the cathedral with more wonder than pleasure. He passed Lake Benacus while a gale was blowing, and saw the waves raging as they raged when Virgil looked upon them. At Venice, then the gayest spot in Europe, the traveller spent the Carnival, the gayest season of the year, in the midst of masques, dances, and serenades. Here he was at once diverted and provoked, by the absurd dramatic pieces which then disgraced the Italian stage. To

¹ It is strange that Addison should, in the first line of his travels, have misdated his departure from Marseilles by a whole year, and still more strange that this slip of the pen, which throws the whole narrative into inextricable confusion, should have been repeated in a succession of editions, and never detected by Tickell or by Hurd.

one of those pieces, however, he was indebted for a valuable hint. He was present when a ridiculous play on the death of Cato was performed. Cato, it seems, was in love with a daughter of Scipio. The lady had given her heart to Cæsar. The rejected lover determined to destroy himself. 5 He appeared seated in his library, a dagger in his hand, a Plutarch and a Tasso before him, and, in this position, he pronounced a soliloquy before he struck the blow. We are surprised that so remarkable a circumstance as this should have escaped the notice of all Addison's biographers. There 10 cannot, we conceive, be the smallest doubt that this scene, in spite of its absurdities and anachronisms, struck the traveller's imagination, and suggested to him the thought of bringing Cato on the English stage. It is well known that about this time he began his tragedy, and that he finished the first four 15 acts before he returned to England.

On his way from Venice to Rome, he was drawn some miles out of the beaten road, by a wish to see the smallest independent state in Europe. On a rock where the snow still lay, though the Italian spring was now far advanced, 20 was perched the little fortress of San Marino. The roads which led to the secluded town were so bad that few travellers had ever visited it, and none had ever published an account of it. Addison could not suppress a good-natured smile at the simple manners and institutions of this 25 singular community. But he observed, with the exultation of a Whig, that the rude mountain tract which formed the territory of the republic swarmed with an honest, healthy, and contented peasantry, while the rich plain which surrounded the metropolis of civil and spiritual tyranny was 30 scarcely less desolate than the uncleared wilds of America.

At Rome Addison remained on his first visit only long enough to catch a glimpse of St. Peter's and of the Pantheon. His haste is the more extraordinary because the Holy Week 35 was close at hand. He has given no hint which can enable us to pronounce why he chose to fly from a spectacle which every year allures from distant regions persons of far less

taste and sensibility than his. Possibly, travelling, as he did, at the charge of a Government distinguished by its enmity to the Church of Rome, he may have thought that it would be imprudent in him to assist at the most magnificent 5 site of that Church. Many eyes would be upon him; and he might find it difficult to behave in such a manner as to give offence neither to his patrons in England, nor to those among whom he resided. Whatever his motives may have been, he turned his back on the most august and 10 affecting ceremony which is known among men, and posted along the Appian Way to Naples.

Naples was then destitute of what are now, perhaps, its chief attractions. The lovely bay and the awful mountain were indeed there. But a farmhouse stood on the theatre of 15 Herculaneum, and rows of vines grew over the streets of Pompeii. The temples of Pæstum had not indeed been hidden from the eye of man by any great convulsion of nature, but, strange to say, their existence was a secret even to artists and antiquaries. Though situated within a few 20 hours' journey of a great capital where Salvator had not long before painted, and where Vico was then lecturing, those noble remains were as little known to Europe as the ruined cities overgrown by the forests of Yucatan. What was to be seen at Naples Addison saw. He climbed Vesuvius, 25 explored the tunnel of Posilipo, and wandered among the vines and almond trees of Capræ. But neither the wonders of nature, nor those of art, could so occupy his attention as to prevent him from noticing, though cursorily, the abuses of the government and the misery of the people. The great 30 kingdom which had just descended to Philip the Fifth was in a state of paralytic dotage. Even Castile and Aragon were sunk in wretchedness. Yet, compared with the Italian dependencies of the Spanish crown, Castile and Aragon might be called prosperous. It is clear that all the observations 35 which Addison made in Italy tended to confirm him in the political opinions which he had adopted at home. To the last he always spoke of foreign travel as the best cure for

Jacobitism. In his *Freeholder*, the Tory foxhunter asks what travelling is good for, except to teach a man to jabber French, and to talk against passive obedience.

From Naples, Addison returned to Rome by sea, along the coast which his favourite Virgil had celebrated. The felucca passed the headland where the oar and trumpet were placed by the Trojan adventurers on the tomb of Misenus, and anchored at night under the shelter of the fabled promontory of Circe. The voyage ended in the Tiber, still overhanging with dark verdure, and still turbid with yellow sand, as when it met the eyes of Æneas. From the ruined port of Ostia, the stranger hurried to Rome; and at Rome he remained during those hot and sickly months when, even in the Augustan age, all who could make their escape fled from mad dogs and from streets black with funerals, to gather the first figs of the season in the country. It is probable that, when he, long after, poured forth in verse his gratitude to the Providence which had enabled him to breathe unhurt in tainted air, he was thinking of the August and September which he passed at Rome.

It was not till the latter end of October that he tore himself away from the masterpieces of ancient and modern art which are collected in the city so long the mistress of the world. He then journeyed northward, passed through Sienna, and for a moment forgot his prejudices in favour of classic architecture as he looked on the magnificent cathedral. At Florence he spent some days with the Duke of Shrewsbury, who, cloyed with the pleasures of ambition, and impatient of its pains, fearing both parties, and loving neither, had determined to hide in an Italian retreat talents and accomplishments which, if they had been united with fixed principles and civil courage, might have made him the foremost man of his age. These days, we are told, passed pleasantly; and we can easily believe it. For Addison was a delightful companion when he was at his ease, and the Duke, though he seldom forgot that he was a Talbot, had the invaluable art of putting at ease all who came near him.

Addison gave some time to Florence, and especially to the sculptures in the Museum, which he preferred even to those of the Vatican. He then pursued his journey through a country in which the ravages of the last war were still discernible, and in which all men were looking forward with dread to a still fiercer conflict. Eugene had already descended from the Rhetian Alps, to dispute with Catinat the rich plain of Lombardy. The faithless ruler of Savoy was still reckoned among the allies of Lewis. England had not yet actually declared war against France: but Manchester had left Paris; and the negotiations which produced the Grand Alliance against the House of Bourbon were in progress. Under such circumstances, it was desirable for an English traveller to reach neutral ground without delay. Addison resolved to cross Mont Cenis. It was December, and the road was very different from that which now reminds the stranger of the power and genius of Napoleon. The winter, however, was mild; and the passage was, for those times, easy. To this journey Addison alluded when, in the ode which we have already quoted, he said that for him the Divine goodness had warmed the hoary Alpine hills.

It was in the midst of the eternal snow that he composed his Epistle to his friend Montague, now Lord Halifax. That Epistle, once widely renowned, is now known only to curious readers, and will hardly be considered by those to whom it is known as in any perceptible degree heightening Addison's fame. It is, however, decidedly superior to any English composition which he had previously published. Nay, we think it quite as good as any poem in heroic metre which appeared during the interval between the death of Dryden and the publication of the Essay on Criticism. It contains passages as good as the second-rate passages of Pope, and would have added to the reputation of Parnell or Prior.

But, whatever be the literary merits or defects of the Epistle, it undoubtedly does honour to the principles and spirit of the author. Halifax had now nothing to give. He had fallen from power, had been held up to obloquy, had

been impeached by the House of Commons, and, though his Peers had dismissed the impeachment, had, as it seemed, little chance of ever again filling high office. The Epistle, written at such a time, is one among many proofs that there was no mixture of cowardice or meanness in the suavity and moderation which distinguished Addison from all the other public men of those stormy times. 5

At Geneva, the traveller learned that a partial change of ministry had taken place in England, and that the Earl of Manchester had become Secretary of State. Manchester 10 exerted himself to serve his young friend. It was thought advisable that an English agent should be near the person of Eugene in Italy; and Addison, whose diplomatic education was now finished, was the man selected. He was preparing to enter on his honourable functions, when all his prospects 15 were for a time darkened by the death of William the Third.

Anne had long felt a strong aversion, personal, political, and religious, to the Whig party. That aversion appeared in the first measures of her reign. Manchester was deprived of the seals, after he had held them only a few weeks. 20 Neither Somers nor Halifax was sworn of the Privy Council. Addison shared the fate of his three patrons. His hopes of employment in the public service were at an end; his pension was stopped; and it was necessary for him to support himself by his own exertions. He became tutor to a young English 25 traveller, and appears to have rambled with his pupil over great part of Switzerland and Germany. At this time he wrote his pleasing treatise on Medals. It was not published till after his death, but several distinguished scholars saw the manuscript, and gave just praise to the grace of the style, 30 and to the learning and ingenuity evinced by the quotations.

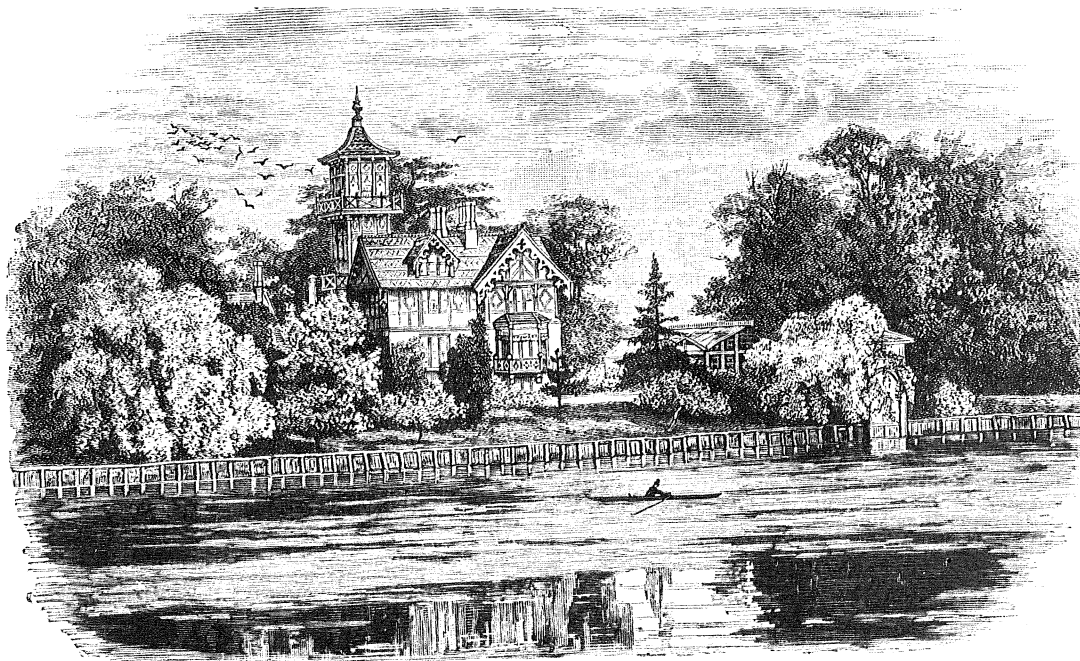
From Germany Addison repaired to Holland, where he learned the melancholy news of his father's death. After passing some months in the United Provinces, he returned about the close of the year 1703 to England. He was there 35 cordially received by his friends, and introduced by them into the Kit Cat club, a society in which were collected all

the various talents and accomplishments which then gave lustre to the Whig party.

Addison was, during some months after his return from the Continent, hard pressed by pecuniary difficulties. But
 5 it was soon in the power of his noble patrons to serve him effectually. A political change, silent and gradual, but of the highest importance, was in daily progress. The accession of Anne had been hailed by the Tories with transports of joy and hope, and for a time it seemed that the Whigs had
 10 fallen never to rise again. The throne was surrounded by men supposed to be attached to the prerogative and to the Church; and among these none stood so high in the favour of the Sovereign as the Lord Treasurer Godolphin and the Captain General Marlborough.

15 The country gentlemen and country clergymen had fully expected that the policy of these ministers would be directly opposed to that which had been almost constantly followed by William, that the landed interest would be favoured at the expense of trade; that no addition would be made to
 20 the funded debt; that the privileges conceded to Dissenters by the late King would be curtailed, if not withdrawn, that the war with France, if there must be such a war, would, on our part, be almost entirely naval, and that the Government would avoid close connexions with foreign powers, and,
 25 above all, with Holland.

But the country gentlemen and country clergymen were fated to be deceived, not for the last time. The prejudices and passions which raged without control in vicarages, in cathedral closes, and in the manor-houses of foxhunting
 30 squires, were not shared by the chiefs of the ministry. Those statesmen saw that it was both for the public interest, and for their own interest, to adopt a Whig policy, at least as respected the alliances of the country and the conduct of the war. But, if the foreign policy of the Whigs were
 35 adopted, it was impossible to abstain from adopting also their financial policy. The natural consequences followed. The rigid Tories were alienated from the Government. The



POPE'S VILLA AS IT NOW APPEARS

votes of the Whigs became necessary to it. The votes of the Whigs could be secured only by further concessions and further concessions the Queen was induced to make.

- At the beginning of the year 1704, the state of parties bore a close analogy to the state of parties in 1826. In 1826, as in 1704, there was a Tory ministry divided into two hostile sections. The position of Mr. Canning and his friends in 1826 corresponded to that which Mailborough and Godolphin occupied in 1704. Nottingham and Jersey were, in 1704, what Lord Eldon and Lord Westmoreland were in 1826. The Whigs of 1704 were in a situation resembling that in which the Whigs of 1826 stood. In 1704, Somers, Halifax, Sunderland, Cowper, were not in office. There was no avowed coalition between them and the moderate Tories. It is probable that no direct communication tending to such a coalition had yet taken place; yet all men saw that such a coalition was inevitable, nay, that it was already half formed. Such, or nearly such, was the state of things when tidings arrived of the great battle fought at Blenheim on August 13, 1704. By the Whigs the news was hailed with transports of joy and pride. No fault, no cause of quarrel, could be remembered by them against the Commander whose genius had, in one day, changed the face of Europe, saved the Imperial throne, humbled the House of Bourbon, and secured the Act of Settlement against foreign hostility. The feeling of the Tories was very different. They could not, indeed, without imprudence, openly express regret at an event so glorious to their country; but their congratulations were so cold and sullen as to give deep disgust to the victorious general and his friends.

- Godolphin was not a reading man. Whatever time he could spare from business he was in the habit of spending at Newmarket or at the card table. But he was not absolutely indifferent to poetry; and he was too intelligent an observer not to perceive that literature was a formidable engine of political warfare, and that the great Whig leaders had strengthened their party, and raised their character, by

extending a liberal and judicious patronage to good writers. He was mortified, and not without reason, by the exceeding badness of the poems which appeared in honour of the battle of Blenheim. One of those poems has been rescued from oblivion by the exquisite absurdity of three lines.

‘Think of two thousand gentlemen at least,
And each man mounted on his capering beast;
Into the Danube they were pushed by shoals’

Where to procure better verses the Treasurer did not know. He understood how to negotiate a loan, or remit a subsidy: he was also well versed in the history of running horses and fighting cocks: but his acquaintance among the poets was very small. He consulted Halifax, but Halifax affected to decline the office of adviser. He had, he said, done his best, when he had power, to encourage men whose abilities and acquirements might do honour to their country. Those times were over. Other maxims had prevailed. Merit was suffered to pine in obscurity; and the public money was squandered on the undeserving ‘I do know,’ he added, ‘a gentleman who would celebrate the battle in a manner worthy of the subject: but I will not name him’ Godolphin, who was expert at the soft answer which turneth away wrath, and who was under the necessity of paying court to the Whigs, gently replied that there was too much ground for Halifax’s complaints, but that what was amiss should in time be rectified, and that in the meantime the services of a man such as Halifax had described should be liberally rewarded. Halifax then mentioned Addison, but, mindful of the dignity as well as of the pecuniary interest of his friend, insisted that the Minister should apply in the most courteous manner to Addison himself; and this Godolphin promised to do.

Addison then occupied a garret up three pair of stairs, over a small shop in the Haymarket. In this humble lodging he was surprised, on the morning which followed the conversation between Godolphin and Halifax, by a visit

from no less a person than the Right Honourable Henry Boyle, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, and afterwards Lord Cailleton. This highborn Minister had been sent by the Lord Treasurer as ambassador to the needy poet.

- 5 Addison readily undertook the proposed task, a task which, to so good a Whig, was probably a pleasure. When the poem was little more than half finished, he showed it to Godolphin, who was delighted with it, and particularly with the famous similitude of the Angel Addison was instantly
10 appointed to a Commissionership worth about two hundred pounds a year, and was assured that this appointment was only an earnest of greater favours.

The Campaign came forth, and was as much admired by the public as by the Minister It pleases us less on the
15 whole than the Epistle to Halifax. Yet it undoubtedly ranks high among the poems which appeared during the interval between the death of Dryden and the dawn of Pope's genius. The chief merit of the Campaign, we think, is that which was noticed by Johnson, the manly and rational rejection of
20 fiction. The first great poet whose works have come down to us sang of war long before war became a science or a trade If, in his time, there was enmity between two little Greek towns, each poured forth its crowd of citizens, ignorant of discipline, and armed with implements of labour
25 rudely turned into weapons. On each side appeared conspicuous a few chiefs, whose wealth had enabled them to procure good armour, horses, and chariots, and whose leisure had enabled them to practise military exercises. One such chief, if he were a man of great strength, agility, and courage,
30 would probably be more formidable than twenty common men, and the force and dexterity with which he flung his spear might have no inconsiderable share in deciding the event of the day Such were probably the battles with which Homer was familiar. But Homer related the actions of men
35 of a former generation, of men who sprang from the Gods, and communed with the Gods face to face, of men, one of whom could with ease hurl rocks which two sturdy hinds of

a later period would be unable even to lift. He therefore naturally represented their martial exploits as resembling in kind, but far surpassing in magnitude, those of the stoutest and most expert combatants of his own age. Achilles, clad in celestial armour, drawn by celestial coursers, grasping the 5 spear which none but himself could raise, driving all Troy and Lycia before him, and choking Scamander with dead, was only a magnificent exaggeration of the real hero, who, strong, fearless, accustomed to the use of weapons, guarded by a shield and helmet of the best Sidonian fabric, and 10 whirled along by horses of Thessalian breed, struck down with his own right arm foe after foe. In all rude societies similar notions are found. There are at this day countries where the Lifeguardsman Shaw would be considered as a much greater warrior than the Duke of Wellington. Buonaparte 15 loved to describe the astonishment with which the Mamelukes looked at his diminutive figure. Mourad Bey, distinguished above all his fellows by his bodily strength, and by the skill with which he managed his horse and his sabre, could not believe that a man who was scarcely five feet high, and rode 20 like a butcher, could be the greatest soldier in Europe.

Homer's descriptions of war had therefore as much truth as poetry requires. But truth was altogether wanting to the performances of those who, writing about battles which had scarcely any thing in common with the battles of his times, 25 servilely imitated his manner. The folly of Silius Italicus, in particular, is positively nauseous. He undertook to record in verse the vicissitudes of a great struggle between generals of the first order and his narrative is made up of the hideous wounds which these generals inflicted with their 30 own hands. Asdrubal flings a spear which grazes the shoulder of the consul Nero, but Nero sends his spear into Asdrubal's side. Fabius slays Thunis and Butes and Maris and Arses, and the longhanded Adherbes, and the gigantic Thylis, and Saphaeus and Monæsus, and the trumpeter 35 Morinus. Hannibal runs Perusinus through the groin with a stake, and breaks the backbone of Telesinus with a huge

stone. This detestable fashion was copied in modern times, and continued to prevail down to the age of Addison. Several versifiers had described William turning thousands to flight by his single prowess, and dyeing the Boyne with
 5 Irish blood. Nay, so estimable a writer as John Philips, the author of the *Splendid Shilling*, represented Marlborough as having won the battle of Blenheim merely by strength of muscle and skill in fence. The following lines may serve as an example :

10 ‘ Churchill, viewing where
 The violence of Tallard most prevailed,
 Came to oppose his slaughtering arm. With speed
 Precipitate he rode, urging his way
 O’er hills of gasping heroes, and fallen steeds
 15 Rolling in death. Destruction, grim with blood,
 Attends his furious course. Around his head
 The glowing balls play innocent, while he
 With due impetuous sway deals fatal blows
 Among the flying Gauls. In Gallic blood
 20 He dyes his reeking sword, and strews the ground
 With headless ranks What can they do? Or how
 Withstand his wide-destroying sword?’

Addison, with excellent sense and taste, departed from this ridiculous fashion. He reserved his praise for the
 25 qualities which made Marlborough truly great, energy, sagacity, military science, but, above all, the poet extolled the firmness of that mind which, in the midst of confusion, uproar, and slaughter, examined and disposed every thing with the serene wisdom of a higher intelligence.

30 Here it was that he introduced the famous comparison of Marlborough to an Angel guiding the whirlwind. We will not dispute the general justice of Johnson’s remarks on this passage. But we must point out one circumstance which appears to have escaped all the critics. The extraordinary
 35 effect which this simile produced when it first appeared, and which to the following generation seemed inexplicable, is doubtless to be chiefly attributed to a line which most readers now regard as a feeble parenthesis,

‘Such as, of late, o’er pale Britannia pass’d.’



JOHN CHURCHILL, FIRST DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH
(From a portrait belonging to Earl Spencer, K.G.)

Addison spoke, not of a storm, but of the storm. The great tempest of November 1703, the only tempest which in our latitude has equalled the rage of a tropical hurricane, had left a dreadful recollection in the minds of all men. No other
 5 tempest was ever in this country the occasion of a parliamentary address or of a public fast. Whole fleets had been cast away. Large mansions had been blown down. One Prelate had been buried beneath the ruins of his Palace. London and Bristol had presented the appearance of cities
 10 just sacked. Hundreds of families were still in mourning. The prostrate trunks of large trees, and the ruins of houses, still attested, in all the southern counties, the fury of the blast. The popularity which the simile of the Angel enjoyed among Addison's contemporaries, has always seemed to us to
 15 be a remarkable instance of the advantage which, in rhetoric and poetry, the particular has over the general.

Soon after the Campaign, was published Addison's Narrative of his Travels in Italy. The first effect produced by this Narrative was disappointment. The crowd of readers
 20 who expected politics and scandal, speculations on the projects of Victor Amadeus, and anecdotes about the jollities of convents and the amours of cardinals and nuns, were confounded by finding that the writer's mind was much more occupied by the war between the Trojans and Rutulians
 25 than by the war between France and Austria; and that he seemed to have heard no scandal of later date than the gallantries of the Empress Faustina. In time, however, the judgment of the many was overruled by that of the few; and, before the book was reprinted, it was so eagerly sought
 30 that it sold for five times the original price. It is still read with pleasure: the style is pure and flowing, the classical quotations and allusions are numerous and happy, and we are now and then charmed by that singularly humane and delicate humour in which Addison excelled all men. Yet
 35 this agreeable work, even when considered merely as the history of a literary tour, may justly be censured on account of its faults of omission. We have already said that, though

rich in extracts from the Latin poets, it contains scarcely any references to the Latin orators and historians. We must add that it contains little, or rather no information, respecting the history and literature of modern Italy. To the best of our remembrance, Addison does not mention Dante, Petrarch, 5 Boccaccio, Boiardo, Berni, Lorenzo de' Medici, or Machiavelli. He coldly tells us, that at Ferrara he saw the tomb of Ariosto, and that at Venice he heard the gondoliers sing verses of Tasso. But for Tasso and Ariosto he cared far less than for Valerius Flaccus and Sidonius Apollinarius. 10 The gentle flow of the Ticin brings a line of Silhus to his mind. The sulphurous steam of Albula suggests to him several passages of Martial. But he has not a word to say of the illustrious dead of Santa Croce; he crosses the wood of Ravenna without recollecting the Spectre Huntsman, and 15 wanders up and down Rumin without one thought of Francesca. At Paris, he had eagerly sought an introduction to Boileau; but he seems not to have been at all aware that at Florence he was in the vicinity of a poet with whom Boileau could not sustain a comparison, of the greatest lyric 20 poet of modern times, Vincenzo Filicaja. This is the more remarkable because Filicaja was the favourite poet of the accomplished Somers, under whose protection Addison travelled, and to whom the account of the Travels is dedicated. The truth is, that Addison knew little, and 25 cared less, about the literature of modern Italy. His favourite models were Latin. His favourite critics were French. Half the Tuscan poetry that he had read seemed to him monstrous, and the other half tawdry.

His Travels were followed by the lively Opera of 30 Rosamond. This piece was ill set to music, and therefore failed on the stage, but it completely succeeded in print, and is indeed excellent in its kind. The smoothness with which the verses glide, and the elasticity with which they bound, is, to our ears at least, very pleasing. We are 35 inclined to think that if Addison had left heroic couplets to Pope, and blank verse to Rowe, and had employed him-

self in writing airy and spirited songs, his reputation as a poet would have stood far higher than it now does. Some years after his death, Rosamond was set to new music by Doctor Arne; and was performed with complete success.

- 5 Several passages long retained their popularity, and were daily sung during the latter part of George the Second's reign, at all the hapsichords in England.

- While Addison thus amused himself, his prospects, and the prospects of his party, were constantly becoming
10 brighter and brighter. In the spring of 1705, the ministers were freed from the restraint imposed by a House of Commons, in which Tories of the most perverse class had the ascendancy. The elections were favourable to the Whigs. The coalition which had been tacitly and gradually
15 formed was now openly avowed. The Great Seal was given to Cowper. Somers and Halifax were sworn of the Council. Halifax was sent in the following year to carry the decorations of the order of the Garter to the Electoral Prince of Hanover, and was accompanied on this honourable
20 mission by Addison, who had just been made Under-secretary of State. The Secretary of State under whom Addison first served was Sir Charles Hedges, a Tory. But Hedges was soon dismissed to make room for the most vehement of Whigs, Charles, Earl of Sunderland. In every
25 department of the state, indeed, the High Churchmen were compelled to give place to their opponents. At the close of 1707, the Tories who still remained in office strove to rally, with Hailey at their head. But the attempt, though favoured by the Queen, who had always been a Tory at
30 heart, and who had now quarrelled with the Duchess of Marlborough, was unsuccessful. The time was not yet. The Captain General was at the height of popularity and glory. The Low Church party had a majority in Parliament. The country squires and rectors, though occasionally
35 uttering a savage growl, were for the most part in a state of torpor, which lasted till they were roused into activity, and indeed into madness, by the prosecution of Sacheverell.

Harley and his adherents were compelled to retire. The victory of the Whigs was complete. At the general election of 1708, their strength in the House of Commons became irresistible; and, before the end of that year, Somers was made Lord President of the Council, and Wharton Lord 5 Lieutenant of Ireland.

Addison sat for Malmesbury in the House of Commons which was elected in 1708. But the House of Commons was not the field for him. The bashfulness of his nature made his wit and eloquence useless in debate. He once 10 rose, but could not overcome his diffidence, and ever after remained silent. Nobody can think it strange that a great writer should fail as a speaker. But many, probably, will think it strange that Addison's failure as a speaker should have had no unfavourable effect on his success as a 15 politician. In our time, a man of high rank and great fortune might, though speaking very little and very ill, hold a considerable post. But it would now be inconceivable that a mere adventurer, a man who, when out of office, must live by his pen, should in a few years become successively 20 Undersecretary of State, chief Secretary for Ireland, and Secretary of State, without some oratorical talent. Addison, without high birth, and with little property, rose to a post which Dukes, the heads of the great houses of Talbot, Russell, and Bentinck, have thought it an honour to fill. 25 Without opening his lips in debate, he rose to a post, the highest that Chatham or Fox ever reached. And this he did before he had been nine years in Parliament. We must look for the explanation of this seeming miracle to the peculiar circumstances in which that generation was placed. 30 During the interval which elapsed between the time when the Censorship of the Press ceased, and the time when parliamentary proceedings began to be freely reported, literary talents were, to a public man, of much more importance, and oratorical talents of much less importance, 35 than in our time. At present, the best way of giving rapid and wide publicity to a fact or an argument, is to introduce

that fact or argument into a speech made in Parliament. If a political tract were to appear superior to the Conduct of the Allies, or to the best numbers of the Freeholder, the circulation of such a tract would be languid indeed when

5 compared with the circulation of every remarkable word uttered in the deliberations of the legislature. A speech made in the House of Commons at four in the morning is on thirty thousand tables before ten. A speech made on the Monday is read on the Wednesday by multitudes in

10 Antrim and Aberdeenshire. The orator, by the help of the shorthand writer, has to a great extent superseded the pamphleteer. It was not so in the reign of Anne. The best speech could then produce no effect except on those who heard it. It was only by means of the press that the

15 opinion of the public without doors could be influenced; and the opinion of the public without doors could not but be of the highest importance in a country governed by parliaments, and indeed at that time governed by triennial parliaments. The pen was therefore a more formidable political engine

20 than the tongue. Mr Pitt and Mr. Fox contended only in Parliament. But Walpole and Pulteney, the Pitt and Fox of an earlier period, had not done half of what was necessary, when they sat down amidst the acclamations of the House of Commons. They had still to plead their

25 cause before the country, and this they could do only by means of the press. Their works are now forgotten, but it is certain that there were in Grub Street few more assiduous scribblers of Thoughts, Letters, Answers, Remarks, than these two great chiefs of parties. Pulteney, when leader of

30 the Opposition, and possessed of thirty thousand a year, edited the Craftsman. Walpole, though not a man of literary habits, was the author of at least ten pamphlets, and retouched and corrected many more. These facts sufficiently show of how great importance literary assistance then was

35 to the contending parties. St. John was, certainly, in Anne's reign, the best Tory speaker, Cowper was probably the best Whig speaker. But it may well be doubted whether

St John did so much for the Tories as Swift, and whether Cowper did so much for the Whigs as Addison. When these things are duly considered, it will not be thought strange that Addison should have climbed higher in the state than any other Englishman has ever, by means 5 merely of literary talents, been able to climb Swift would, in all probability, have climbed as high, if he had not been encumbered by his cassock and his pudding sleeves As far as the homage of the great went, Swift had as much of it as if he had been Lord Treasurer 10

To the influence which Addison derived from his literary talents was added all the influence which arises from character. The world, always ready to think the worst of needy political adventurers, was forced to make one exception. Restlessness, violence, audacity, laxity of principle, 15 are the vices ordinarily attributed to that class of men. But faction itself could not deny that Addison had, through all changes of fortune, been strictly faithful to his early opinions, and to his early friends; that his integrity was without stain, that his whole deportment indicated a fine 20 sense of the becoming; that, in the utmost heat of controversy, his zeal was tempered by a regard for truth, humanity, and social decorum, that no outrage could ever provoke him to retaliation unworthy of a Christian and a gentleman; and that his only faults were a too sensitive 25 delicacy, and a modesty which amounted to bashfulness.

He was undoubtedly one of the most popular men of his time, and much of his popularity he owed, we believe, to that very timidity which his friends lamented. That timidity often prevented him from exhibiting his talents to 30 the best advantage. But it propitiated Nemesis. It averted that envy which would otherwise have been excited by fame so splendid, and by so rapid an elevation. No man is so great a favourite with the public as he who is at once an object of admiration, of respect, and of pity, and such were 35 the feelings which Addison inspired. Those who enjoyed the privilege of hearing his familiar conversation, declared

with one voice that it was superior even to his writings. The brilliant Mary Montague said, that she had known all the wits, and that Addison was the best company in the world. The malignant Pope was forced to own, that there
 5 was a charm in Addison's talk, which could be found nowhere else. Swift, when burning with animosity against the Whigs, could not but confess to Stella that, after all, he had never known any associate so agreeable as Addison. Steele, an excellent judge of lively conversation, said, that
 10 the conversation of Addison was at once the most polite, and the most mirthful, that could be imagined; that it was Terence and Catullus in one, heightened by an exquisite something which was neither Terence nor Catullus, but Addison alone. Young, an excellent judge of serious con-
 15 versation, said, that when Addison was at his ease, he went on in a noble strain of thought and language, so as to chain the attention of every hearer. Nor were Addison's great colloquial powers more admirable than the courtesy and softness of heart which appeared in his conversation. At
 20 the same time, it would be too much to say that he was wholly devoid of the malice which is, perhaps, inseparable from a keen sense of the ludicrous. He had one habit which both Swift and Stella applauded, and which we hardly know how to blame. If his first attempts to set a presuming
 25 dunce right were ill received, he changed his tone, 'assented with civil leer,' and lured the flattered coxcomb deeper and deeper into absurdity. That such was his practice we should, we think, have guessed from his works. The Tatler's criticisms on Mr. Softly's sonnet, and the Spectator's dialogue
 30 with the politician who is so zealous for the honour of Lady Q—p—t—s, are excellent specimens of this innocent mischief.

Such were Addison's talents for conversation. But his rare gifts were not exhibited to crowds or to strangers. As soon as he entered a large company, as soon as he saw an
 35 unknown face, his lips were sealed, and his manners became constrained. None who met him only in great assemblies would have been able to believe that he was the same man

who had often kept a few friends listening and laughing round a table, from the time when the play ended, till the clock of St Paul's in Covent Garden struck four. Yet, even at such a table, he was not seen to the best advantage. To enjoy his conversation in the highest perfection, it was 5 necessary to be alone with him, and to hear him, in his own phrase, think aloud. 'There is no such thing,' he used to say, 'as real conversation, but between two persons'

This timidity, a timidity surely neither ungraceful nor unamiable, led Addison into the two most serious faults 10 which can with justice be imputed to him. He found that wine broke the spell which lay on his fine intellect, and was therefore too easily seduced into convivial excess. Such excess was in that age regarded, even by grave men, as the most venial of all peccadilloes, and was so far from being a 15 mark of ill-breeding that it was almost essential to the character of a fine gentleman. But the smallest speck is seen on a white ground, and almost all the biographers of Addison have said something about this failing. Of any other statesman or writer of Queen Anne's reign, we should no 20 more think of saying that he sometimes took too much wine, than that he wore a long wig and a sword.

To the excessive modesty of Addison's nature, we must ascribe another fault which generally arises from a very 25 different cause. He became a little too fond of seeing himself surrounded by a small circle of admirers, to whom he was as a King or rather as a God. All these men were far inferior to him in ability, and some of them had very serious faults. Nor did those faults escape his observation; for, if 30 ever there was an eye which saw through and through men, it was the eye of Addison. But, with the keenest observation, and the finest sense of the ridiculous, he had a large charity. The feeling with which he looked on most of his humble companions was one of benevolence, slightly tinctured with contempt. He was at perfect ease in their company; 35 he was grateful for their devoted attachment; and he loaded them with benefits. Their veneration for him appears to

have exceeded that with which Johnson was regarded by Boswell, or Warburton by Hurd. It was not in the power of adulation to turn such a head, or deprave such a heart, as Addison's. But it must in candour be admitted that he
 5 contracted some of the faults which can scarcely be avoided by any person who is so unfortunate as to be the oracle of a small literary coterie

One member of this little society was Eustace Budgell, a young Templar of some literature, and a distant relation of
 10 Addison. There was at this time no stain on the character of Budgell, and it is not improbable that his career would have been prosperous and honourable, if the life of his cousin had been prolonged. But, when the master was laid in the grave, the disciple broke loose from all restraint, de-
 15 scended rapidly from one degree of vice and misery to another, ruined his fortune by follies, attempted to repair it by crimes, and at length closed a wicked and unhappy life by selfmurder. Yet, to the last, the wretched man, gambler, lampooner, cheat, forger, as he was, retained his
 20 affection and veneration for Addison, and recorded those feelings in the last lines which he traced before he hid himself from infamy under London Bridge

Another of Addison's favourite companions was Ambrose Philipps, a good Whig and a middling poet, who had the
 25 honour of bringing into fashion a species of composition which has been called, after his name, Namby Pamby. But the most remarkable members of the little senate, as Pope long afterwards called it, were Richard Steele and Thomas Tickell.

Steele had known Addison from childhood. They had
 30 been together at the Charter House and at Oxford; but circumstances had then, for a time, separated them widely. Steele had left college without taking a degree, had been disinherited by a rich relation, had led a vagrant life, had served in the army, had tried to find the philosopher's stone,
 35 and had written a religious treatise and several comedies. He was one of those people whom it is impossible either to hate or to respect. His temper was sweet, his affections

warm, his spirits lively, his passions strong, and his principles weak. His life was spent in sinning and repenting, in inculcating what was right, and doing what was wrong. In speculation, he was a man of piety and honour; in practice he was much of the rake and a little of the swindler. He 5 was, however, so goodnatured that it was not easy to be seriously angry with him, and that even rigid moralists felt more inclined to pity than to blame him, when he dined himself into a spunging house, or drank himself into a fever. Addison regarded Steele with kindness not unmingled with 10 scorn, tried, with little success, to keep him out of scrapes, introduced him to the great, procured a good place for him, corrected his plays, and, though by no means rich, lent him large sums of money. One of these loans appears, from a letter dated in August 1708, to have amounted to a thousand 15 pounds. These pecuniary transactions probably led to frequent bickerings. It is said that, on one occasion, Steele's negligence, or dishonesty, provoked Addison to repay himself by the help of a bailiff. We cannot join with Miss Aikin in rejecting this story. Johnson heard it from Savage, 20 who heard it from Steele. Few private transactions which took place a hundred and twenty years ago, are proved by stronger evidence than this. But we can by no means agree with those who condemn Addison's severity. The most amiable of mankind may well be moved to indignation, 25 when what he has earned hardly, and lent with great inconvenience to himself, for the purpose of relieving a friend in distress, is squandered with insane profusion. We will illustrate our meaning by an example, which is not the less striking because it is taken from fiction. Dr. Harrison, in 30 Fielding's *Amelia*, is represented as the most benevolent of human beings, yet he takes in execution, not only the goods, but the person of his friend Booth. Dr. Harrison resorts to this strong measure because he has been informed that Booth, while pleading poverty as an excuse for not paying 35 just debts, has been buying fine jewellery, and setting up a coach. No person who is well acquainted with Steele's life

and correspondence can doubt that he behaved quite as ill to Addison as Booth was accused of behaving to Dr. Harrison. The real history, we have little doubt, was something like this.—A letter comes to Addison, imploring help in pathetic
 5 terms, and promising reformation and speedy repayment. Poor Dick declares that he has not an inch of candle, or a bushel of coals, or credit with the butcher for a shoulder of mutton. Addison is moved. He determines to deny himself some medals which are wanting to his series of the Twelve
 10 Cæsars, to put off buying the new edition of Bayle's Dictionary, and to wear his old sword and buckles another year. In this way he manages to send a hundred pounds to his friend. The next day he calls on Steele, and finds scores of gentlemen and ladies assembled. The fiddles are playing.
 15 The table is groaning under Champagne, Burgundy, and pyramids of sweetmeats. Is it strange that a man whose kindness is thus abused, should send sheriff's officers to reclaim what is due to him?

Tickell was a young man, fresh from Oxford, who had
 20 introduced himself to public notice by writing a most ingenious and graceful little poem in praise of the opera of Rosamond. He deserved, and at length attained, the first place in Addison's friendship. For a time Steele and Tickell were on good terms. But they loved Addison too much to love
 25 each other, and at length became as bitter enemies as the rival bulls in Virgil.

At the close of 1708 Wharton became Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and appointed Addison Chief Secretary. Addison was consequently under the necessity of quitting London for
 30 Dublin. Besides the chief secretaryship, which was then worth about two thousand pounds a year, he obtained a patent appointing him keeper of the Irish Records for life, with a salary of three or four hundred a year. Budgell accompanied his cousin in the capacity of private Secretary.
 35 Wharton and Addison had nothing in common but Whiggism. The Lord Lieutenant was not only licentious and corrupt, but was distinguished from other libertines and

jobbers by a callous impudence which presented the strongest contrast to the Secretary's gentleness and delicacy. Many parts of the Irish administration at this time appear to have deserved serious blame. But against Addison there was not a murmur. He long afterwards asserted, what all the 5 evidence which we have ever seen tends to prove, that his diligence and integrity gained the friendship of all the most considerable persons in Ireland.

The parliamentary career of Addison in Ireland has, we think, wholly escaped the notice of all his biographers. He 10 was elected member for the borough of Cavan in the summer of 1709; and in the journals of two sessions his name frequently occurs. Some of the entries appear to indicate that he so far overcame his timidity as to make speeches. Nor is this by any means improbable, for the Irish House 15 of Commons was a far less formidable audience than the English House; and many tongues which were tied by fear in the greater assembly became fluent in the smaller. Gerard Hamilton, for example, who, from fear of losing the fame gained by his single speech, sat mute at Westminster 20 during forty years, spoke with great effect at Dublin when he was Secretary to Lord Halifax.

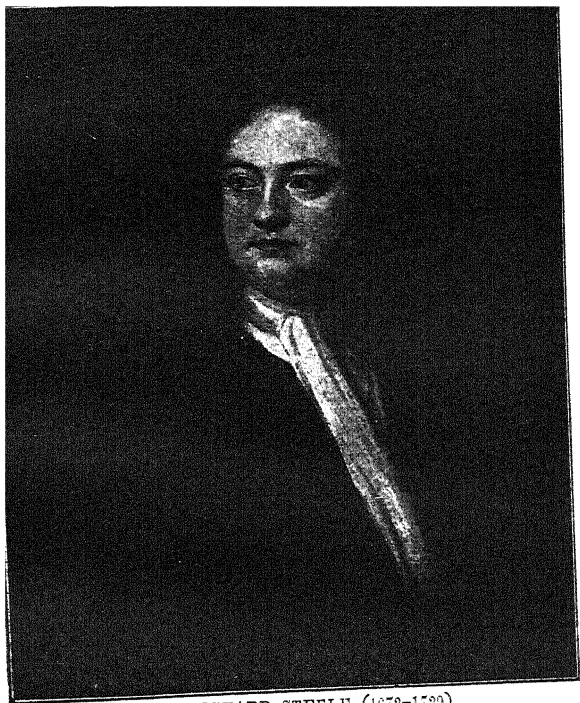
While Addison was in Ireland, an event occurred to which he owes his high and permanent rank among British writers. As yet his fame rested on performances which, though highly 25 respectable, were not built for duration, and which would, if he had produced nothing else, have now been almost forgotten, on some excellent Latin verses, on some English verses which occasionally rose above mediocrity, and on a book of travels, agreeably written, but not indicating any extraordinary 30 powers of mind. These works showed him to be a man of taste, sense, and learning. The time had come when he was to prove himself a man of genius, and to enrich our literature with compositions which will live as long as the English language. 35

In the spring of 1709 Steele formed a literary project, of which he was far indeed from foreseeing the consequences.

Periodical papers had during many years been published in London. Most of these were political, but in some of them questions of morality, taste, and love casuistry had been discussed. The literary merit of these works was small indeed; and even their names are now known only to the curious

Steele had been appointed Gazetteer by Sunderland, at the request, it is said, of Addison, and thus had access to foreign intelligence earlier and more authentic than was in those times within the reach of an ordinary newswriter. This circumstance seems to have suggested to him the scheme of publishing a periodical paper on a new plan. It was to appear on the days on which the post left London for the country, which were, in that generation, the Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays. It was to contain the foreign news, accounts of theatrical representations, and the literary gossip of Will's and of the Grecian. It was also to contain remarks on the fashionable topics of the day, compliments to beauties, pasquinades on noted sharpers, and criticisms on popular preachers. The aim of Steele does not appear to have been at first higher than this. He was not ill qualified to conduct the work which he had planned. His public intelligence he drew from the best sources. He knew the town, and had paid dear for his knowledge. He had read much more than the dissipated men of that time were in the habit of reading. He was a rake among scholars, and a scholar among rakes. His style was easy and not incorrect; and, though his wit and humour were of no high order, his gay animal spirits imparted to his compositions an air of vivacity which ordinary readers could hardly distinguish from comic genius. His writings have been well compared to those light wines which, though deficient in body and flavour, are yet a pleasant small drink, if not kept too long, or carried too far.

Isaac Bickerstaff, Esquire, Astrologer, was an imaginary person, almost as well known in that age as Mr. Paul Pry or Mr. Samuel Pickwick in ours. Swift had assumed the



SIR RICHARD STEELE (1672-1729)

(From the painting by Jonathan Richardson in the National Portrait Gallery)

name of Bickerstaff in a satirical pamphlet against Partridge, the maker of almanacks. Partridge had been fool enough to publish a furious reply. Bickerstaff had rejoined in a second pamphlet still more diverting than the first. All the
 5 wits had combined to keep up the joke, and the town was long in convulsions of laughter. Steele determined to employ the name which this controversy had made popular; and, in April 1709, it was announced that Isaac Bickerstaff, Esquire, Astrologer, was about to publish a paper called the
 10 *Tatler*

Addison had not been consulted about this scheme, but as soon as he heard of it, he determined to give his assistance. The effect of that assistance cannot be better described than in Steele's own words. 'I fared,' he said, 'like
 15 a distressed prince who calls in a powerful neighbour to his aid. I was undone by my auxiliary. When I had once called him in, I could not subsist without dependence on him.' 'The paper,' he says elsewhere, 'was advanced indeed. It was raised to a greater thing than I intended it'

20 It is probable that Addison, when he sent across St. George's Channel his first contributions to the *Tatler*, had no notion of the extent and variety of his own powers. He was the possessor of a vast mine rich with a hundred ores. But he had been acquainted only with the least precious
 25 part of his treasures, and had hitherto contented himself with producing sometimes copper and sometimes lead, intermingled with a little silver. All at once, and by mere accident, he had lighted on an inexhaustible vein of the finest gold.

30 The mere choice and arrangement of his words would have sufficed to make his essays classical. For never, not even by Dryden, not even by Temple, had the English language been written with such sweetness, grace, and facility. But this was the smallest part of Addison's
 35 praise. Had he clothed his thoughts in the half-French style of Horace Walpole, or in the half-Latin style of Dr. Johnson, or in the half-German jargon of the present day, his genius

would have triumphed over all faults of manner. As a moral satirist he stands unrivalled. If ever the best Tatlers and Spectators were equalled in their own kind, we should be inclined to guess that it must have been by the lost comedies of Menander. 5

In wit, properly so called, Addison was not inferior to Cowley or Butler. No single ode of Cowley contains so many happy analogies as are crowded into the lines to Sir Godfrey Kneller, and we would undertake to collect from the Spectators as great a number of ingenious illustrations as can be found in *Hudibras*. The still higher faculty of invention Addison possessed in still larger measure. The numerous fictions, generally original, often wild and grotesque, but always singularly graceful and happy, which are found in his essays fully entitle him to the rank of a great poet, a rank to which his metrical compositions gave him no claim. As an observer of life, of manners, of all the shades of human character, he stands in the first class. And what he observed he had the art of communicating in two widely different ways. He could describe virtues, vices, habits, whims, as well as Clarendon. But he could do something better. He could call human beings into existence, and make them exhibit themselves. If we wish to find any thing more vivid than Addison's best portraits, we must go either to Shakspeare or to Cervantes. 10 15 20 25

But what shall we say of Addison's humour, of his sense of the ludicrous, of his power of awakening that sense in others, and of drawing mirth from incidents which occur every day, and from little peculiarities of temper and manner, such as may be found in every man? We feel the charm. We give ourselves up to it: but we strive in vain to analyse it. 30

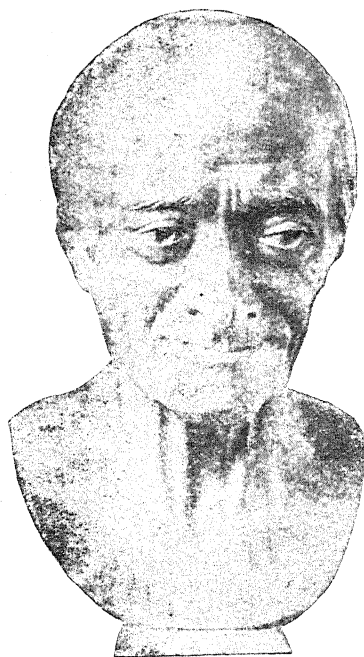
Perhaps the best way of describing Addison's peculiar pleasantry is to compare it with the pleasantry of some other great satirists. The three most eminent masters of the art of ridicule, during the eighteenth century, were, we conceive, Addison, Swift, and Voltaire. Which of the three 35

had the greatest power of moving laughter may be questioned. But each of them, within his own domain, was supreme.

Voltaire is the prince of buffoons. His merriment is without disguise or restraint. He gambols, he grins; he
 5 shakes his sides, he points the finger, he turns up the nose; he shoots out the tongue. The manner of Swift is the very opposite to this. He moves laughter, but never joins in it. He appears in his works such as he appeared in society. All the company are convulsed with merriment,
 10 while the Dean, the author of all the mirth, preserves an invincible gravity, and even sourness of aspect, and gives utterance to the most eccentric and ludicrous fancies, with the air of a man reading the commination service.

The manner of Addison is as remote from that of Swift as
 15 from that of Voltaire. He neither laughs out like the French wit, nor, like the Irish wit, throws a double portion of severity into his countenance while laughing inwardly; but preserves a look peculiarly his own, a look of demure serenity, disturbed only by an arch sparkle of the eye, an almost
 20 imperceptible elevation of the brow, an almost imperceptible curl of the lip. His tone is never that either of a Jack Pudding or of a Cynic. It is that of a gentleman, in whom the quickest sense of the ridiculous is constantly tempered by good nature and good breeding.

25 We own that the humour of Addison is, in our opinion, of a more delicious flavour than the humour of either Swift or Voltaire. Thus much, at least, is certain, that both Swift and Voltaire have been successfully mimicked, and that no man has yet been able to mimic Addison. The letter of
 30 the Abbé Coyer to Pansophe is Voltaire all over, and imposed, during a long time, on the Academicians of Paris. There are passages in Arbuthnot's satirical works which we, at least, cannot distinguish from Swift's best writing. But of the many eminent men who have made Addison their
 35 model, though several have copied his mere diction with happy effect, none has been able to catch the tone of his pleasantry. In the *World*, in the *Connoisseur*, in the *Mirror*,



BUST OF VOLTAIRE

By Houdou, in the Louvre, Paris

Born, 1694; visited England, 1724; resided in Prussia, 1750-1753; died, 1778

in the *Lounger*, there are numerous papers written in obvious imitation of his *Tatlers* and *Spectators*. Most of those papers have some merit; many are very lively and amusing; but there is not a single one which could be passed off as Addison's on a critic of the smallest perspicacity

But that which chiefly distinguishes Addison from Swift, from Voltaire, from almost all the other great masters of ridicule, is the grace, the nobleness, the moral purity, which we find even in his merriment. Severity, gradually hardening and darkening into misanthropy, characterises the works of Swift. The nature of Voltaire was, indeed, not inhuman but he venerated nothing. Neither in the masterpieces of art nor in the purest examples of virtue, neither in the Great First Cause nor in the awful enigma of the grave, could he see any thing but subjects for drollery. The more solemn and august the theme, the more monkey-like was his grimacing and chattering. The mirth of Swift is the mirth of Mephistopheles; the mirth of Voltaire is the mirth of Puck. If, as Soame Jenyns oddly imagined, a portion of the happiness of Seraphim and just men made perfect be derived from an exquisite perception of the ludicrous, their mirth must surely be none other than the mirth of Addison, a mirth consistent with tender compassion for all that is frail, and with profound reverence for all that is sublime. Nothing great, nothing amiable, no moral duty, no doctrine of natural or revealed religion, has ever been associated by Addison with any degrading idea. His humanity is without parallel in literary history. The highest proof of virtue is to possess boundless power without abusing it. No kind of power is more formidable than the power of making men ridiculous, and that power Addison possessed in boundless measure. How grossly that power was abused by Swift and by Voltaire is well known. But of Addison it may be confidently affirmed that he has blackened no man's character, nay, that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to find in all the volumes which he has left us a single taunt which can be called ungenerous or unkind. Yet he had detractors, whose

malignity might have seemed to justify as terrible a revenge as that which men not superior to him in genius, wreaked on Bettesworth and on Franc de Pompignan. He was a politician, he was the best writer of his party, he lived in times of fierce excitement, in times when persons of high character and station stooped to scurrility such as is now practised only by the basest of mankind. Yet no provocation and no example could induce him to return railing for railing.

Of the service which his Essays rendered to morality it is difficult to speak too highly. It is true that, when the *Tatler* appeared, that age of outrageous profaneness and licentiousness which followed the Restoration had passed away. Jeremy Collier had shamed the theatres into something which, compared with the excesses of Etherege and Wycherley, might be called decency. Yet there still lingered in the public mind a pernicious notion that there was some connexion between genius and profligacy, between the domestic virtues and the sullen formality of the Puritans. That error it is the glory of Addison to have dispelled. He taught the nation that the faith and the morality of Hale and Tillotson might be found in company with wit more sparkling than the wit of Congreve, and with humour richer than the humour of Vanbrugh. So effectually, indeed, did he retort on vice the mockery which had recently been directed against virtue, that, since his time, the open violation of decency has always been considered among us as the mark of a fool. And this revolution, the greatest and most salutary ever effected by any satirist, he accomplished, be it remembered, without writing one personal lampoon.

In the early contributions of Addison to the *Tatler* his peculiar powers were not fully exhibited. Yet from the first, his superiority to all his coadjutors was evident. Some of his later *Tatlers* are fully equal to any thing that he ever wrote. Among the portraits, we most admire Tom Folo, Ned Softly, and the Political Upholsterer. The proceedings of the Court of Honour, the Thermometer of Zeal, the story

of the Frozen Words, the Memoirs of the Shilling, are excellent specimens of that ingenious and lively species of fiction in which Addison excelled all men. There is one still better paper of the same class. But though that paper, a
5 hundred and thirty-three years ago, was probably thought as edifying as one of Smallridge's sermons, we dare not indicate it to the squeamish readers of the nineteenth century.

During the session of Parliament which commenced in November 1709 and which the impeachment of Sacheverell
10 has made memorable, Addison appears to have resided in London. The *Tatler* was now more popular than any periodical paper had ever been, and his connexion with it was generally known. It was not known, however, that almost every thing good in the *Tatler* was his. The truth is that the fifty
15 or sixty numbers which we owe to him were not merely the best, but so decidedly the best that any five of them are more valuable than all the two hundred numbers in which he had no share.

He required, at this time, all the solace which he could
20 derive from literary success. The Queen had always disliked the Whigs. She had during some years disliked the Marlborough family. But, reigning by a disputed title, she could not venture directly to oppose herself to a majority of both Houses of Parliament, and, engaged as she was in a
25 war on the event of which her own Crown was staked, she could not venture to disgrace a great and successful general. But at length, in the year 1710, the causes which had restrained her from showing her aversion to the Low Church party ceased to operate. The trial of Sacheverell produced
30 an outbreak of public feeling scarcely less violent than the outbreaks which we can ourselves remember in 1820, and in 1831. The country gentlemen, the country clergymen, the rabble of the towns, were all for once on the same side. It was clear that, if a general election took place before the
35 excitement abated, the Tories would have a majority. The services of Marlborough had been so splendid that they were no longer necessary. The Queen's throne was secure from

all attack on the part of Lewis. Indeed, it seemed much more likely that the English and German armies would divide the spoils of Versailles and Mail than that a Marshal of France would bring back the Pretender to St. James's. The Queen, acting by the advice of Harley, determined to dismiss her servants. In June the change commenced. Sunderland was the first who fell. The Tories exulted over his fall. The Whigs tried, during a few weeks, to persuade themselves that her Majesty had acted only from personal dislike to the Secretary, and that she meditated no further alteration. But, early in August, Godolphin was surprised by a letter from Anne, which directed him to break his white staff. Even after this event, the irresolution or dissimulation of Harley kept up the hopes of the Whigs during another month; and then the ruin became rapid and violent. The Parliament was dissolved. The Ministers were turned out. The Tories were called to office. The tide of popularity ran violently in favour of the High Church party. That party, feeble in the late House of Commons, was now irresistible. The power which the Tories had thus suddenly acquired, they used with blind and stupid ferocity. The howl which the whole pack set up for prey and for blood appalled even him who had roused and unchained them. When, at this distance of time, we calmly review the conduct of the discarded Ministers, we cannot but feel a movement of indignation at the injustice with which they were treated. No body of men had ever administered the government with more energy, ability, and moderation; and their success had been proportioned to their wisdom. They had saved Holland and Germany. They had humbled France. They had, as it seemed, all but torn Spain from the house of Bourbon. They had made England the first power in Europe. At home they had united England and Scotland. They had respected the rights of conscience and the liberty of the subject. They retired, leaving their country at the height of prosperity and glory. And yet they were pursued to their retreat by such a roar of obloquy as was never raised

against the government which threw away thirteen colonies, or against the government which sent a gallant army to perish in the ditches of Walcheren

None of the Whigs suffered more in the general wreck
 5 than Addison. He had just sustained some heavy pecuniary losses, of the nature of which we are imperfectly informed, when his Secretaryship was taken from him. He had reason to believe that he should also be deprived of the small Irish office which he held by patent. He had just resigned his
 10 Fellowship. It seems probable that he had already ventured to raise his eyes to a great lady, and that, while his political friends were in power, and while his own fortunes were rising, he had been, in the phrase of the romances which were then fashionable, permitted to hope. But Mr Addison
 15 the ingenious writer, and Mr. Addison the chief Secretary, were, in her ladyship's opinion, two very different persons. All these calamities united, however, could not disturb the serene cheerfulness of a mind conscious of innocence, and rich in its own wealth. He told his friends, with smiling resignation,
 20 that they ought to admire his philosophy, that he had lost at once his fortune, his place, his Fellowship, and his mistress, that he must think of turning tutor again, and yet that his spirits were as good as ever.

He had one consolation. Of the unpopularity which his
 25 friends had incurred, he had no share. Such was the esteem with which he was regarded that, while the most violent measures were taken for the purpose of forcing Tory members on Whig corporations, he was returned to Parliament without even a contest. Swift, who was now in London, and who had
 30 already determined on quitting the Whigs, wrote to Stella in these remarkable words. 'The Tories carry it among the new members six to one. Mr. Addison's election has passed easy and undisputed; and I believe if he had a mind to be king he would hardly be refused.'

35 The good will with which the Tories regarded Addison is the more honourable to him, because it had not been purchased by any concession on his part. During the

general election he published a political Journal, entitled the Whig Examiner. Of that Journal it may be sufficient to say that Johnson, in spite of his strong political prejudices, pronounced it to be superior in wit to any of Swift's writings on the other side. When it ceased to appear, Swift, in a letter to Stella, expressed his exultation at the death of so formidable an antagonist 'He might well rejoice,' says Johnson, 'at the death of that which he could not have killed.' 'On no occasion,' he adds, 'was the genius of Addison more vigorously exerted, and on none did the superiority of his powers more evidently appear.'

The only use which Addison appears to have made of the favour with which he was regarded by the Tories was to save some of his friends from the general run of the Whig party. He felt himself to be in a situation which made it his duty to take a decided part in politics. But the case of Steele and of Ambrose Philipps was different. For Philipps Addison even condescended to solicit, with what success we have not ascertained. Steele held two places. He was Gazetteer, and he was also a Commissioner of Stamps. The Gazette was taken from him. But he was suffered to retain his place in the Stamp Office, on an implied understanding that he should not be active against the new government and he was, during more than two years, induced by Addison to observe this armistice with tolerable fidelity.

Isaac Bickerstaff accordingly became silent upon politics, and the article of news, which had once formed about one third of his paper, altogether disappeared. The Tatler had completely changed its character. It was now nothing but a series of essays on books, morals, and manners. Steele therefore resolved to bring it to a close, and to commence a new work on an improved plan. It was announced that this new work would be published daily. The undertaking was generally regarded as bold, or rather rash; but the event amply justified the confidence with which Steele relied on the fertility of Addison's genius. On the second of January 1711, appeared the last Tatler. At the beginning of March

following, appeared the first of an incomparable series of papers, containing observations on life and literature by an imaginary Spectator.

- The Spectator himself was conceived and drawn by Addison, and it is not easy to doubt that the portrait was meant to be in some features a likeness of the painter. The Spectator is a gentleman who, after passing a studious youth at the University, has travelled on classic ground, and has bestowed much attention on curious points of antiquity. He has, on his return, fixed his residence in London, and has observed all the forms of life which are to be found in that great city, has daily listened to the wits of Will's, has smoked with the philosophers of the Grecian, and has mingled with the parsons at Child's, and with the politicians at the St. James's. In the morning, he often listens to the hum of the exchange; in the evening his face is constantly to be seen in the pit of Drury Lane theatre. But an insurmountable bashfulness prevents him from opening his mouth except in a small circle of intimate friends.
- These friends were first sketched by Steele. Four of the club, the templar, the clergyman, the soldier, and the merchant, were uninteresting figures, fit only for a background. But the other two, an old country baronet and an old town rake, though not delineated with a very delicate pencil, had some good strokes. Addison took the rude outlines into his own hands, retouched them, coloured them, and is in truth the creator of the Sir Roger de Coverley and the Will Honeycomb with whom we are all familiar.

- The plan of the Spectator must be allowed to be both original and eminently happy. Every valuable essay in the series may be read with pleasure separately; yet the five or six hundred essays form a whole, and a whole which has the interest of a novel. It must be remembered, too, that at that time no novel, giving a lively and powerful picture of the common life and manners of England, had appeared. Richardson was working as a compositor. Fielding was robbing birds' nests. Smollett was not yet born. The

narrative, therefore, which connects together the Spectator's Essays, gave to our ancestors their first taste of an exquisite and untried pleasure. That narrative was indeed constructed with no art or labour. The events were such events as occur every day. Sir Roger comes up to town to see Eugenio, as the worthy baronet always calls Prince Eugene, goes with the Spectator on the water to Spring Gardens, walks among the tombs in the Abbey, and is frightened by the Mohawks, but conquers his apprehension so far as to go to the theatre when the Distressed Mother is acted. The Spectator pays a visit in the summer to Coverley Hall, is charmed with the old house, the old butler, and the old chaplain, eats a jack caught by Will Wimble, rides to the assizes, and hears a point of law discussed by Tom Touchy. At last a letter from the honest butler brings to the club the news that Sir Roger is dead. Will Honeycomb marries and reforms at sixty. The club breaks up; and the Spectator resigns his functions. Such events can hardly be said to form a plot; yet they are related with such truth, such grace, such wit, such humour, such pathos, such knowledge of the human heart, such knowledge of the ways of the world, that they charm us on the hundredth perusal. We have not the least doubt that, if Addison had written a novel, on an extensive plan, it would have been superior to any that we possess. As it is, he is entitled to be considered, not only as the greatest of the English essayists, but as the forerunner of the great English novelists.

We say this of Addison alone; for Addison is the Spectator. About three sevenths of the work are his; and it is no exaggeration to say, that his worst essay is as good as the best essay of any of his coadjutors. His best essays approach near to absolute perfection; nor is their excellence more wonderful than their variety. His invention never seems to flag; nor is he ever under the necessity of repeating himself, or of wearing out a subject. There are no dregs in his wine. He regales us after the fashion of that prodigal nabob who held that there was only one good glass in a

bottle. As soon as we have tasted the first sparkling foam of a jest, it is withdrawn, and a fresh draught of nectar is at our lips. On the Monday we have an allegory as lively and ingenious as Lucian's Auction of Lives ; on the Tuesday an
 5 Eastern apologue, as richly coloured as the Tales of Scherezade ; on the Wednesday, a character described with the skill of Labruyère ; on the Thursday, a scene from common life, equal to the best chapters in the Vicar of Wakefield , on the Friday, some sly Horatian pleasantry on
 10 fashionable follies, on hoops, patches, or puppet shows , and on the Saturday a religious meditation, which will bear a comparison with the finest passages in Massillon.

It is dangerous to select where there is so much that deserves the highest praise. We will venture, however, to
 15 say, that any person who wishes to form a just notion of the extent and variety of Addison's powers, will do well to read at one sitting the following papers, the two Visits to the Abbey, the Visit to the Exchange, the Journal of the Retired Citizen, the Vision of Mirza, the Transmigrations of Pug
 20 the Monkey, and the Death of Sir Roger De Coverley.¹

The least valuable of Addison's contributions to the Spectator are, in the judgment of our age, his critical papers. Yet his critical papers are always luminous, and often inge-
 25 nious. The very worst of them must be regarded as creditable to him, when the character of the school in which he had been trained is fairly considered. The best of them were much too good for his readers. In truth, he was not so far behind our generation as he was before his own. No essays in the Spectator were more censured and derided than
 30 those in which he raised his voice against the contempt with which our fine old ballads were regarded, and showed the scoffers that the same gold which, burnished and polished, gives lustre to the Æneid and the Odes of Horace, is mingled with the rude dross of Chevy Chase.

5 It is not strange that the success of the Spectator should

¹ Nos. 26, 329, 69, 317, 159, 343, 517. These papers are all in the first seven volumes The eighth must be considered as a separate work.

have been such as no similar work has ever obtained. The number of copies daily distributed was at first three thousand. It subsequently increased, and had risen to near four thousand when the stamp tax was imposed. That tax was fatal to a crowd of journals. The Spectator, however, 5 stood its ground, doubled its price, and, though its circulation fell off, still yielded a large revenue both to the state and to the authors. For particular papers, the demand was immense; of some, it is said, twenty thousand copies were required. But this was not all. To have the Spectator 10 served up every morning with the bohea and rolls, was a luxury for the few. The majority were content to wait till essays enough had appeared to form a volume. Ten thousand copies of each volume were immediately taken off, and new editions were called for. It must be remembered 15 that the population of England was then hardly a third of what it now is. The number of Englishmen who were in the habit of reading, was probably not a sixth of what it now is. A shopkeeper or a farmer who found any pleasure in literature, was a rarity. Nay, there was doubtless more 20 than one knight of the shire whose country seat did not contain ten books, receipt books and books on farriery included. In these circumstances, the sale of the Spectator must be considered as indicating a popularity quite as great as that of the most successful works of Sir Walter Scott and 25 Mr. Dickens in our own time.

At the close of 1712 the Spectator ceased to appear. It was probably felt that the shortfaced gentleman and his club had been long enough before the town; and that it was time to withdraw them, and to replace them by a new set of 30 characters. In a few weeks the first number of the Guardian was published. But the Guardian was unfortunate both in its birth and in its death. It began in dulness, and disappeared in a tempest of faction. The original plan was bad. Addison contributed nothing till sixty-six numbers had 35 appeared, and it was then impossible to make the Guardian what the Spectator had been. Nestor Ironside and the Miss

Lizards were people to whom even he could impart no interest. He could only furnish some excellent little essays, both serious and comic ; and this he did.

Why Addison gave no assistance to the *Guardian*, during
 5 the first two months of its existence, is a question which has puzzled the editors and biographers, but which seems to us to admit of a very easy solution. He was then engaged in bringing his *Cato* on the stage.

The first four acts of this drama had been lying in his
 10 desk since his return from Italy. His modest and sensitive nature shrank from the risk of a public and shameful failure , and, though all who saw the manuscript were loud in praise, some thought it possible that an audience might become impatient even of very good rhetoric, and advised Addison to
 15 print the play without hazarding a representation. At length, after many fits of apprehension, the poet yielded to the urgency of his political friends, who hoped that the public would discover some analogy between the followers of Cæsar and the Tories, between Sempronius and the apostate Whigs,
 20 between Cato, struggling to the last for the liberties of Rome, and the band of patriots who still stood firm round Halifax and Wharton.

Addison gave the play to the managers of Drury Lane theatre, without stipulating for any advantage to himself
 25 They, therefore, thought themselves bound to spare no cost in scenery and dresses. The decorations, it is true, would not have pleased the skilful eye of Mr. Macready. Juba's waistcoat blazed with gold lace ; Marcia's hoop was worthy of a Duchess on the birthday ; and Cato wore a wig worth
 30 fifty guineas. The prologue was written by Pope, and is undoubtedly a dignified and spirited composition. The part of the hero was excellently played by Booth. Steele undertook to pack a house. The boxes were in a blaze with the stars of the Peers in Opposition. The pit was
 35 crowded with attentive and friendly listeners from the Inns of Court and the literary coffeehouses. Sir Gilbert Heathcote, Governor of the Bank of England, was at the

head of a powerful body of auxiliaries from the city, warm men and true Whigs, but better known at Jonathan's and Ganiaway's than in the haunts of wits and critics

These precautions were quite superfluous. The Tories, as a body, regarded Addison with no unkind feelings. Nor was it for their interest, professing, as they did, profound reverence for law and prescription, and abhorrence both of popular insurrections and of standing armies, to appropriate to themselves reflections thrown on the great military chief and demagogue, who, with the support of the legions and of the common people, subverted all the ancient institutions of his country. Accordingly, every shout that was raised by the members of the Kit Cat was echoed by the High Churchmen of the October, and the curtain at length fell amidst thunders of unanimous applause

The delight and admiration of the town were described by the Guardian in terms which we might attribute to partiality, were it not that the Examiner, the organ of the Ministry, held similar language. The Tories, indeed, found much to sneer at in the conduct of their opponents. Steele had on this, as on other occasions, shown more zeal than taste or judgment. The honest citizens who marched under the orders of Sir Gibby, as he was facetiously called, probably knew better when to buy and when to sell stock than when to clap and when to hiss at a play, and incurred some ridicule by making the hypocritical Sempronius their favourite, and by giving to his insincere rants louder plaudits than they bestowed on the temperate eloquence of Cato. Wharton, too, who had the incredible effrontery to applaud the lines about flying from prosperous vice and from the power of impious men to a private station, did not escape the sarcasms of those who justly thought that he could fly from nothing more vicious or impious than himself. The epilogue, which was written by Garth, a zealous Whig, was severely and not unreasonably censured as ignoble and out of place. But Addison was described, even by the bitterest Tory writers, as a gentleman of wit and virtue, in whose friend-

ship many persons of both parties were happy, and whose name ought not to be mixed up with factious squabbles.

Of the jests by which the triumph of the Whig party was disturbed, the most severe and happy was Bolingbroke's.

- 5 Between two acts, he sent for Booth to his box, and presented him, before the whole theatre, with a purse of fifty guineas for defending the cause of liberty so well against a perpetual Dictator. This was a pungent allusion to the attempt which Marlborough had made, not long before his
10 fall, to obtain a patent creating him Captain General for life.

- It was April, and in April, a hundred and thirty years ago, the London season was thought to be far advanced. During a whole month, however, *Cato* was performed to overflowing houses, and brought into the treasury of the
15 theatre twice the gains of an ordinary spring. In the summer, the Drury Lane company went down to the Act at Oxford, and there, before an audience which retained an affectionate remembrance of Addison's accomplishments and virtues, his tragedy was acted during several days. The
20 gownsmen began to besiege the theatre in the forenoon, and by one in the afternoon all the seats were filled.

- About the merits of the piece which had so extraordinary an effect, the public, we suppose, has made up its mind. To compare it with the masterpieces of the Attic stage, with the
25 great English dramas of the time of Elizabeth, or even with the productions of Schiller's manhood, would be absurd indeed. Yet it contains excellent dialogue and declamation, and, among plays fashioned on the French model, must be allowed to rank high; not indeed with *Athalie*, or *Saul*;
30 but, we think, not below *Cinna*, and certainly above any other English tragedy of the same school, above many of the plays of *Corneille*, above many of the plays of *Voltaire* and *Alfieri*, and above some plays of *Racine*. Be this as it may, we have little doubt that *Cato* did as much as the *Tatlers*,
35 Spectators, and Freeholders united, to raise Addison's fame among his contemporaries

The modesty and good nature of the successful dramatist

had tamed even the malignity of faction. But literary envy, it should seem, is a fiercer passion than party spirit. It was by a zealous Whig that the fiercest attack on the Whig tragedy was made. John Dennis published *Remarks on Cato*, which were written with some acuteness and with much coarseness and asperity. Addison neither defended himself nor retaliated. On many points he had an excellent defence; and nothing would have been easier than to retaliate; for Dennis had written bad odes, bad tragedies, bad comedies: he had, moreover, a larger share than most men of those infirmities and eccentricities which excite laughter; and Addison's power of turning either an absurd book or an absurd man into ridicule was unrivalled. Addison, however, serenely conscious of his superiority, looked with pity on his assailant, whose temper, naturally irritable and gloomy, had been soured by want, by controversy, and by literary failures.

But among the young candidates for Addison's favour there was one distinguished by talents from the rest, and distinguished, we fear, not less by malignity and insincerity. Pope was only twenty-five. But his powers had expanded to their full maturity, and his best poem, the *Rape of the Lock*, had recently been published. Of his genius, Addison had always expressed high admiration. But Addison had early discerned, what might indeed have been discerned by an eye less penetrating than his, that the diminutive, crooked, sickly boy was eager to revenge himself on society for the unkindness of nature. In the *Spectator*, the *Essay on Criticism* had been praised with cordial warmth, but a gentle hint had been added, that the writer of so excellent a poem would have done well to avoid ill natured personalities. Pope, though evidently more galled by the censure than gratified by the praise, returned thanks for the admonition, and promised to profit by it. The two writers continued to exchange civilities, counsel, and small good offices. Addison publicly extolled Pope's miscellaneous pieces; and Pope furnished Addison with a prologue. This

did not last long. Pope hated Dennis, who he had injured without provocation. The appearance of the Remarks on Cato gave the irritable poet an opportunity of venting his malice under the show of friendship; and such an opportunity could not but be welcome to a nature which was implacable in enmity, and which always preferred the tortuous to the straight path. He published, accordingly, the Narrative of the Frenzy of John Dennis. But Pope had mistaken his powers. He was a great master of invective and sarcasm he could dissect a character in terse and sonorous couplets, brilliant with antithesis; but of dramatic talent he was altogether destitute. If he had written a lampoon on Dennis, such as that on Atticus, or that on Sporus, the old grumbler would have been crushed. But Pope writing dialogue resembled—to borrow Horace's imagery and his own—a wolf which, instead of biting, should take to kicking, or a monkey which should try to sting. The Narrative is utterly contemptible. Of argument there is not even the show; and the jests are such as, if they were introduced into a farce, would call forth the hisses of the shilling gallery. Dennis raves about the drama; and the nurse thinks that he is calling for a dram. 'There is,' he cries, 'no peripetia in the tragedy, no change of fortune, no change at all.' 'Pray, good Sir, be not angry,' says the old woman; 'I'll fetch change.' This is not exactly the pleasantry of Addison.

There can be no doubt that Addison saw through this officious zeal, and felt himself deeply aggrieved by it. So foolish and spiteful a pamphlet could do him no good, and, if he were thought to have any hand in it, must do him harm. Gifted with incomparable powers of ridicule, he had never, even in self-defence, used those powers inhumanly or uncourteously; and he was not disposed to let others make his fame and his interests a pretext under which they might commit outrages from which he had himself constantly abstained. He accordingly declared that he had no concern in the Narrative, that he disapproved of it, and that, if he

answered the Remarks, he would answer them like a gentleman; and he took care to communicate this to Dennis. Pope was bitterly mortified, and to this transaction we are inclined to ascribe the hatred with which he ever after regarded Addison.

5

In September 1713 the Guardian ceased to appear. Steele had gone mad about politics. A general election had just taken place: he had been chosen member for Stockbridge; and he fully expected to play a first part in Parliament. The immense success of the Tatler and Spectator had 10 turned his head. He had been the editor of both those papers, and was not aware how entirely they owed their influence and popularity to the genius of his friend. His spirits, always violent, were now excited by vanity, ambition, and faction, to such a pitch that he every day committed 15 some offence against good sense and good taste. All the discreet and moderate members of his own party regretted and condemned his folly. 'I am in a thousand troubles,' Addison wrote, 'about poor Dick, and wish that his zeal for the public may not be ruinous to himself. But he has sent 20 me word that he is determined to go on, and that any advice I may give him in this particular will have no weight with him.'

Steele set up a political paper called the Englishman, which, as it was not supported by contributions from Addison, 25 completely failed. By this work, by some other writings of the same kind, and by the airs which he gave himself at the first meeting of the new Parliament, he made the Tories so angry that they determined to expel him. The Whigs stood by him gallantly, but were unable to save him. The 30 vote of expulsion was regarded by all dispassionate men as a tyrannical exercise of the power of the majority. But Steele's violence and folly, though they by no means justified the steps which his enemies took, had completely disgusted his friends; nor did he ever regain the place which he had 35 held in the public estimation.

Addison about this time conceived the design of adding

- an eighth volume to the Spectator. In June 1714 the first number of the new series appeared, and during about six months three papers were published weekly. Nothing can be more striking than the contrast between the Englishman
- 5 and the eighth volume of the Spectator, between Steele without Addison and Addison without Steele. The Englishman is forgotten; the eighth volume of the Spectator contains, perhaps, the finest essays, both serious and playful, in the English language.
- 10 Before this volume was completed, the death of Anne produced an entire change in the administration of public affairs. The blow fell suddenly. It found the Tory party distracted by internal feuds, and unprepared for any great effort. Harley had just been disgraced. Bolingbroke, it was
- 15 supposed, would be the chief minister. But the Queen was on her deathbed before the white staff had been given, and her last public act was to deliver it with a feeble hand to the Duke of Shrewsbury. The emergency produced a coalition between all sections of public men who were attached to the
- 20 Protestant succession. George the First was proclaimed without opposition. A Council, in which the leading Whigs had seats, took the direction of affairs till the new King should arrive. The first act of the Lords Justices was to appoint Addison their secretary.
- 25 There is an idle tradition that he was directed to prepare a letter to the King, that he could not satisfy himself as to the style of this composition, and that the Lords Justices called in a clerk who at once did what was wanted. It is not strange that a story so flattering to mediocrity should be
- 30 popular; and we are sorry to deprive dunces of their consolation. But the truth must be told. It was well observed by Sir James Mackintosh, whose knowledge of these times was unequalled, that Addison never, in any official document, affected wit or eloquence, and that his despatches are, without
- 35 exception, remarkable for unpretending simplicity. Every body who knows with what ease Addison's finest essays were produced must be convinced that, if well turned phrases had

been wanted, he would have had no difficulty in finding them. We are, however, inclined to believe, that the story is not absolutely without a foundation. It may well be that Addison did not know, till he had consulted experienced clerks who remembered the times when William the Third 5 was absent on the Continent, in what form a letter from the Council of Regency to the King ought to be drawn. We think it very likely that the ablest statesmen of our time, Lord John Russell, Sir Robert Peel, Lord Palmerston, for example, would, in similar circumstances, be found quite as 10 ignorant. Every office has some little mysteries which the dullest man may learn with a little attention, and which the greatest man cannot possibly know by intuition. One paper must be signed by the chief of the department; another by his deputy to a third the royal sign manual is necessary. 15 One communication is to be registered, and another is not. One sentence must be in black ink and another in red ink. If the ablest Secretary for Ireland were moved to the India Board, if the ablest President of the India Board were moved to the War Office, he would require instruction on 20 points like these, and we do not doubt that Addison required such instruction when he became, for the first time, Secretary to the Lords Justices.

George the First took possession of his kingdom without opposition. A new ministry was formed, and a new Parlia- 25 ment favourable to the Whigs chosen. Sunderland was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; and Addison again went to Dublin as Chief Secretary.

At Dublin Swift resided; and there was much speculation about the way in which the Dean and the Secretary 30 would behave towards each other. The relations which existed between these remarkable men form an interesting and pleasing portion of literary history. They had early attached themselves to the same political party and to the same patrons. While Anne's Whig ministry was in power, 35 the visits of Swift to London and the official residence of Addison in Ireland had given the opportunities of knowing



CHARLES MONTAGU, EARL OF HALIFAX, K.G.

(From the original painting by Sir Godfrey Kneller in the National Portrait Gallery)

each other. They were the two shrewdest observers of their age. But their observations on each other had led them to favourable conclusions. Swift did full justice to the rare powers of conversation which were latent under the bashful deportment of Addison. Addison, on the other hand, discerned much good nature under the severe look and manner of Swift; and, indeed, the Swift of 1708 and the Swift of 1738 were two very different men.

But the paths of the two friends diverged widely. The Whig state en loaded Addison with solid benefits. They praised Swift, asked him to dinner, and did nothing ore for him. His profession laid them under a difficulty. In the state they could not pro ote him; and they had reason to fear that, by bestowing preferment in the church on the author of the Tale of a Tub, they might ive scandal to the public, which had no high opinion of their orthodoxy. He did not make fair allowance for the difficulties which prevented Halifax and Somers from serving him, thought himself an ill used man, sacrificed honour and consistency to revenge, joined the Tories, and became their most formidable champion. He soon found, however, that his old friends were less to blame than he had supposed. The dislike with which the Queen and the heads of the Church regarded him was insurmountable; and it was with the greatest difficulty that he obtained an ecclesiastical dignity of no great value, on condition of fixing his residence in a country which he detested.

Difference of political opinion had produced, not indeed a quarrel, but a coolness between Swift and Addison. They at length ceased altogether to see each other. Yet there was between them a tacit compact like that between the hereditary guests in the Iliad.

Ἐγχεα δ' ἀλλήλων ἀλεώμεθα καὶ δι' ὀμίλου·
 ὅλλοι μὲν γὰρ ἐμοὶ Τρῶες κλειτοὶ τ' ἐπίκουροι,
 τείνειν, ὃν κε θεός γε πόρῃ καὶ ποσσὶ κηχίω,
 ὅλλοι δ' αὖ σοὶ Ἀχαιοὶ, ἐναίρεμεν, ὃν κε δύνῃται.

It is not strange that Addison, who calumniated and insulted nobody, should not have calumniated or insulted Swift. But it is remarkable that Swift, to whom neither genius nor virtue was sacred, and who generally seemed to
 5 find, like most other renegades, a peculiar pleasure in attacking old friends, should have shown so much respect and tenderness to Addison.

Fortune had now changed. The accession of the House of Hanover had secured in England the liberties of the people,
 10 and in Ireland the dominion of the Protestant caste. To that caste Swift was more odious than any other man. He was hooted and even pelted in the streets of Dublin; and could not venture to ride along the strand for his health without the attendance of armed servants. Many whom he
 15 had formerly served now libelled and insulted him. At this time Addison arrived. He had been advised not to show the smallest civility to the Dean of St. Patrick's. He had answered, with admirable spirit, that it might be necessary for men whose fidelity to their party was suspected to hold no
 20 intercourse with political opponents; but that one who had been a steady Whig in the worst times might venture, when the good cause was triumphant, to shake hands with an old friend who was one of the vanquished Tories. His kindness was soothing to the proud and cruelly wounded spirit of
 25 Swift; and the two great satirists resumed their habits of friendly intercourse.

Those associates of Addison whose political opinions agreed with his shared his good fortune. He took Tickell with him to Ireland. He procured for Budgell a lucrative
 30 place in the same kingdom. Ambrose Phillipps was provided for in England. Steele had injured himself so much by his eccentricity and perverseness that he obtained but a very small part of what he thought his due. He was, however, knighted; he had a place in the household; and he subse-
 35 quently received other marks of favour from the court.

Addison did not remain long in Ireland. In 1715 he quitted his secretaryship for a seat at the Board of Trade.

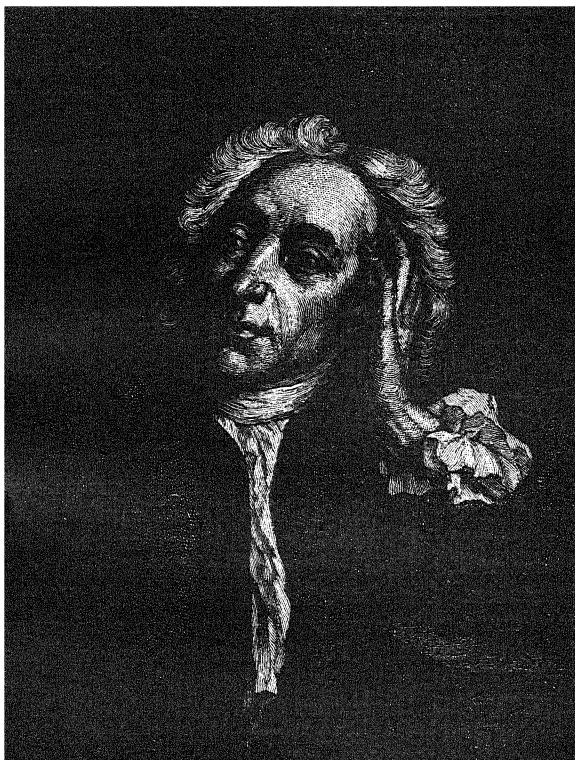
In the same year his comedy of the Drummer was brought on the stage. The name of the author was not announced ; the piece was coldly received ; and some critics have expressed a doubt whether it were really Addison's. To us the evidence, both external and internal, seems decisive. It is not 5 in Addison's best manner ; but it contains numerous passages which no other writer known to us could have produced. It was again performed after Addison's death, and, being known to be his, was loudly applauded

Towards the close of the year 1715, while the Rebellion 10 was still raging in Scotland, Addison published the first number of a paper called the Freeholder. Among his political works the Freeholder is entitled to the first place. Even in the Spectator there are few serious papers nobler than the character of his friend Lord Somers, and certainly 15 no satirical papers superior to those in which the Tory foxhunter is introduced. This character is the original of Squire Western, and is drawn with all Fielding's force, and with a delicacy of which Fielding was altogether destitute. As none of Addison's works exhibits stronger marks of his genius than 20 the Freeholder, so none does more honour to his moral character. It is difficult to extol too highly the candour and humanity of a political writer, whom even the excitement of civil war cannot hurry into unseemly violence. Oxford, it is well known, was then the stronghold of Toryism. The High 25 Street had been repeatedly lined with bayonets in order to keep down the disaffected gowmsmen ; and traitors pursued by the messengers of the Government had been concealed in the garrets of several colleges. Yet the admonition which, even under such circumstances, Addison addressed to the 30 University, is singularly gentle, respectful, and even affectionate. Indeed, he could not find it in his heart to deal harshly even with imaginary persons. His foxhunter, though ignorant, stupid, and violent, is at heart a good fellow, and is at last reclaimed by the clemency of the King. 35 Steele was dissatisfied with his friend's moderation, and though he acknowledged that the Freeholder was excellently

written, complained that the ministry played on a lute when it was necessary to blow the trumpet. He accordingly determined to execute a flourish after his own fashion, and tried to rouse the public spirit of the nation by means of a
 5 paper called the *Town Talk*, which is now as utterly forgotten as his *Englishman*, as his *Crisis*, as his *Letter to the Bailiff of Stockbridge*, as his *Reader*, in short, as every thing that he wrote without the help of Addison.

In the same year in which the *Drummer* was acted, and
 10 in which the first numbers of the *Freeholder* appeared, the estrangement of Pope and Addison became complete. Addison had from the first seen that Pope was false and malevolent. Pope had discovered that Addison was jealous. The discovery was made in a strange manner. Pope had
 15 written the *Rape of the Lock*, in two cantos, without supernatural machinery. These two cantos had been loudly applauded, and by none more loudly than by Addison. Then Pope thought of the Sylphs and Gnomes, Ariel, Momentilla, Crispissa, and Umbriel, and resolved to interweave the Rosi-
 20 crucian mythology with the original fabric. He asked Addison's advice. Addison said that the poem as it stood was a delicious little thing, and entreated Pope not to run the risk of marring what was so excellent in trying to mend it. Pope afterwards declared that this insidious
 25 counsel first opened his eyes to the baseness of him who gave it.

Now there can be no doubt that Pope's plan was most ingenious, and that he afterwards executed it with great skill and success. But does it necessarily follow that Addison's
 30 advice was bad? And if Addison's advice was bad, does it necessarily follow that it was given from bad motives? If a friend were to ask us whether we would advise him to risk his all in a lottery of which the chances were ten to one against him, we should do our best to dissuade him from
 35 running such a risk. Even if he were so lucky as to get the thirty thousand pound prize, we should not admit that we had counselled him ill, and we should certainly



ALEXANDER POPE

think it the height of injustice in him to accuse us of having been actuated by malice. We think Addison's advice good advice. It rested on a sound principle, the result of long and wide experience. The general rule undoubtedly is that, when a successful work of imagination has been produced, it should not be recast. We cannot at this moment call to mind a single instance in which this rule has been transgressed with happy effect, except the instance of the Rape of the Lock. Tasso recast his Jerusalem. Akenside recast his Pleasures of the Imagination, and his Epistle to Curio. Pope himself, emboldened no doubt by the success with which he had expanded and remodelled the Rape of the Lock, made the same experiment on the Dunciad. All these attempts failed. Who was to foresee that Pope would, once in his life, be able to do what he could not himself do twice, and what nobody else has ever done?

Addison's advice was good. But had it been bad, why should we pronounce it dishonest? Scott tells us that one of his best friends predicted the failure of Waverley. Herder adjured Goethe not to take so unpromising a subject as Faust. Hume tried to dissuade Robertson from writing the History of Charles the Fifth. Nay, Pope himself was one of those who prophesied that Cato would never succeed on the stage, and advised Addison to print it without risking a representation. But Scott, Goethe, Robertson, Addison, had the good sense and generosity to give their advisers credit for the best intentions. Pope's heart was not of the same kind with theirs.

In 1715, while he was engaged in translating the Iliad, he met Addison at a coffeehouse. Philipps and Budgell were there; but their sovereign got rid of them, and asked Pope to dine with him alone. After dinner, Addison said that he lay under a difficulty which he wished to explain. 'Tickell,' he said, 'translated some time ago the first book of the Iliad. I have promised to look it over and correct it. I cannot therefore ask to see yours; for that would be double dealing.' Pope made a civil reply, and begged that

his second book might have the advantage of Addison's revision. Addison readily agreed, looked over the second book, and sent it back with warm commendations

Tickell's version of the first book appeared soon after this conversation. In the preface, all rivalry was earnestly disclaimed. Tickell declared that he should not go on with the Iliad. That enterprise he should leave to powers which he admitted to be superior to his own. His only view, he said, in publishing this specimen was to bespeak the favour of the public to a translation of the Odyssey, in which he had made some progress 5 10

Addison, and Addison's devoted followers, pronounced both the versions good, but maintained that Tickell's had more of the original. The town gave a decided preference to Pope's. We do not think it worth while to settle such a question of precedence. Neither of the rivals can be said to have translated the Iliad, unless, indeed, the word translation be used in the sense which it bears in the Midsummer Night's Dream. When Bottom makes his appearance with an ass's head instead of his own, Peter Quince exclaims, 'Bless thee! Bottom, bless thee! thou art translated.' In this sense, undoubtedly, the readers of either Pope or Tickell may very properly exclaim, 'Bless thee! Homer, thou art translated indeed' 15 20

Our readers will, we hope, agree with us in thinking that no man in Addison's situation could have acted more fairly and kindly, both towards Pope, and towards Tickell, than he appears to have done. But an odious suspicion had sprung up in the mind of Pope. He fancied, and he soon firmly believed, that there was a deep conspiracy against his fame and his fortunes. The work on which he had staked his reputation was to be depreciated. The subscription, on which rested his hopes of a competence, was to be defeated. With this view Addison had made a rival translation. Tickell had consented to father it; and the wits of Button's had united to puff it 25 30 35

Is there any external evidence to support this grave

accusation? The answer is short. There is absolutely none

Was there any internal evidence which proved Addison to be the author of this version? Was it a work which
 5 Tickell was incapable of producing? Surely not. Tickell was a Fellow of a College at Oxford, and must be supposed to have been able to construe the *Iliad*, and he was a better versifier than his friend. We are not aware that Pope pretended to have discovered any turns of expression
 10 peculiar to Addison. Had such turns of expression been discovered, they would be sufficiently accounted for by supposing Addison to have corrected his friend's lines, as he owned that he had done

Is there any thing in the character of the accused persons
 15 which makes the accusation probable? We answer confidently—nothing. Tickell was long after this time described by Pope himself as a very fair and worthy man. Addison had been, during many years, before the public. Literary rivals, political opponents, had kept their eyes on
 20 him. But neither envy nor faction, in their utmost rage, had ever imputed to him a single deviation from the laws of honour and of social morality. Had he been indeed a man meanly jealous of fame, and capable of stooping to base and wicked arts for the purpose of injuring his competitors,
 25 would his vices have remained latent so long? He was a writer of tragedy had he ever injured Rowe? He was a writer of comedy had he not done ample justice to Congreve, and given valuable help to Steele? He was a pamphleteer: have not his good nature and generosity been
 30 acknowledged by Swift, his rival in fame and his adversary in politics?

That Tickell should have been guilty of a villany seems to us highly improbable. That Addison should have been guilty of a villany seems to us highly improbable. But that
 35 these two men should have conspired together to commit a villany seems to us improbable in a tenfold degree. All that is known to us of their intercourse tends to prove, that it was

not the intercourse of two accomplices in crime. These are some of the lines in which Tickell poured forth his sorrow over the coffin of Addison

‘O! dost thou wain poor mortals left behind,
A task well suited to thy gentle mind? 5
Oh, if sometimes thy spotless form descend,
To me thine aid, thou guardian genius, lend.
When rage misguides me, or when fear alarms,
When pain distresses, or when pleasure charms,
In silent whisperings puer thoughts impart, 10
And turn from ill a fial and feeble heart,
Lead through the paths thy virtue trod before,
Till bliss shall join, nor death can part us more’

In what words, we should like to know, did this guardian genius invite his pupil to join in a plan such as the Editor of 15 the *Satirist* would hardly dare to propose to the Editor of the *Age*?

We do not accuse Pope of bringing an accusation which he knew to be false. We have not the smallest doubt that he believed it to be true, and the evidence on which he believed 20 it he found in his own bad heart. His own life was one long series of tricks, as mean and as malicious as that of which he suspected Addison and Tickell. He was all stiletto and mask. To injure, to insult, and to save himself from the consequences of injury and insult by lying and equivocating, 25 was the habit of his life. He published a lampoon on the Duke of Chandos, he was taxed with it, and he lied and equivocated. He published a lampoon on Aaron Hill, he was taxed with it; and he lied and equivocated. He published a still fouler lampoon on Lady Mary Wortley Mont- 30 ague; he was taxed with it; and he lied with more than usual effrontery and vehemence. He puffed himself and abused his enemies under feigned names. He robbed himself of his own letters, and then raised the hue and cry after them. Besides his frauds of malignity, of fear, of interest, 35 and of vanity, there were frauds which he seems to have committed from love of fraud alone. He had a habit of

stratagem, a pleasure in outwitting all who came near him. Whatever his object might be, the indirect road to it was that which he preferred. For Bolingbroke, Pope undoubtedly felt as much love and veneration as it was in his nature to
 5 feel for any human being. Yet Pope was scarcely dead when it was discovered that, from no motive except the mere love of artifice, he had been guilty of an act of gross perfidy to Bolingbroke.

Nothing was more natural than that such a man as this
 10 should attribute to others that which he felt within himself. A plain, probable, coherent explanation is frankly given to him. He is certain that it is all a romance. A line of conduct scrupulously fair, and even friendly, is pursued towards him. He is convinced that it is merely a cover for
 15 a vile intrigue by which he is to be disgraced and ruined. It is vain to ask him for proofs. He has none, and wants none, except those which he carries in his own bosom.

Whether Pope's malignity at length provoked Addison to retaliate for the first and last time, cannot now be known
 20 with certainty. We have only Pope's story, which runs thus. A pamphlet appeared containing some reflections which stung Pope to the quick. What those reflections were, and whether they were reflections of which he had a right to complain, we have now no means of deciding. The Earl of
 25 Warwick, a foolish and vicious lad, who regarded Addison with the feelings with which such lads generally regard their best friends, told Pope, truly or falsely, that this pamphlet had been written by Addison's direction. When we consider what a tendency stories have to grow, in passing even from
 30 one honest man to another honest man, and when we consider that to the name of honest man neither Pope nor the Earl of Warwick had a claim, we are not disposed to attach much importance to this anecdote

It is certain, however, that Pope was furious. He had
 35 already sketched the character of Atticus in prose. In his anger he turned this prose into the brilliant and energetic lines which every body knows by heart, or ought to know by

heart, and sent them to Addison. One charge which Pope has enforced with great skill is probably not without foundation. Addison was, we are inclined to believe, too fond of presiding over a circle of humble friends. Of the other imputations which these famous lines are intended to convey, 5 scarcely one has ever been proved to be just, and some are certainly false. That Addison was not in the habit of 'damning with faint praise' appears from innumerable passages in his writings, and from none more than from those in which he mentions Pope. And it is not merely un- 10 just, but ridiculous, to describe a man who made the fortune of almost every one of his intimate friends, as 'so obliging that he ne'er obliged.'

That Addison felt the sting of Pope's satire keenly, we cannot doubt. That he was conscious of one of the weak- 15 nesses with which he was reproached, is highly probable. But his heart, we firmly believe, acquitted him of the gravest part of the accusation. He acted like himself. As a satirist he was, at his own weapons, more than Pope's match; and he would have been at no loss for topics. A distorted and 20 diseased body, tenanted by a yet more distorted and diseased mind; spite and envy thinly disguised by sentiments as benevolent and noble as those which Sir Peter Teazle admired in Mr. Joseph Surface; a feeble sickly licentious- 25 ness: an odious love of filthy and noisome images, these were things which a genius less powerful than that to which we owe the *Spectator* could easily have held up to the mirth and hatred of mankind. Addison had, moreover, at his command other means of vengeance which a bad man would not have scrupled to use. He was powerful in the 30 state. Pope was a Catholic, and, in those times, a minister would have found it easy to harass the most innocent Catholic by innumerable petty vexations. Pope, near twenty years later, said that, 'through the lenity of the government alone he could live with comfort' 'Consider,' he ex- 35 claimed, 'the injury that a man of high rank and credit may do to a private person, under penal laws and many other

disadvantages.' It is pleasing to reflect that the only revenge which Addison took was to insert in the *Freeholder* a warm encomium on the translation of the *Iliad*, and to exhort all lovers of learning to put down their names as subscribers. There could be no doubt, he said, from the specimens already published, that the masterly hand of Pope would do as much for Homer as Dryden had done for Virgil. From that time to the end of his life, he always treated Pope, by Pope's own acknowledgment, with justice. Friendship was, of course, at an end.

One reason which induced the Earl of Warwick to play the ignominious part of talebearer on this occasion, may have been his dislike of the marriage which was about to take place between his mother and Addison. The Countess Dowager, a daughter of the old and honourable family of the Myddletons of Chirk, a family which, in any country but ours, would be called noble, resided at Holland House. Addison had, during some years, occupied at Chelsea a small dwelling, once the abode of Nell Gwynn. Chelsea is now a district of London and Holland House may be called a town residence. But, in the days of Anne and George the First, milkmaids and sportsmen wandered between green hedges and over fields bright with daisies, from Kensington almost to the shore of the Thames. Addison and Lady Warwick were country neighbours, and became intimate friends. The great wit and scholar tried to allure the young Lord from the fashionable amusements of beating watchmen, breaking windows, and rolling women in hogsheads down Holborn Hill, to the study of letters and the practice of virtue. These well meant exertions did little good, however, either to the disciple or to the master. Lord Warwick grew up a rake, and Addison fell in love. The mature beauty of the Countess has been celebrated by poets in language which, after a very large allowance has been made for flattery, would lead us to believe that she was a fine woman; and her rank doubtless heightened her attractions. The courtship was long. The hopes of the lover appear to have risen and fallen with the

fortunes of his party. His attachment was at length matter of such notoriety that, when he visited Ireland for the last time, Rowe addressed some consolatory verses to the Chloe of Holland House. It strikes us as a little strange that, in these verses, Addison should be called *Lycidas*, a name of singularly evil omen for a swain just about to cross St. George's Channel. 5

At length Chloe capitulated. Addison was indeed able to treat with her on equal terms. He had reason to expect preferment even higher than that which he had attained. 10 He had inherited the fortune of a brother who died Governor of Madras. He had purchased an estate in Warwickshire, and had been welcomed to his domain in very tolerable verse by one of the neighbouring squires, the poetical foxhunter, William Somerville. In August 1716, the newspapers announced that Joseph Addison, Esquire, famous for many excellent works both in verse and prose, had espoused the Countess Dowager of Warwick. 15

He now fixed his abode at Holland House, a house which can boast of a greater number of inmates distinguished in political and literary history than any other private dwelling in England. His portrait still hangs there. The features are pleasing, the complexion is remarkably fair, but in the expression, we trace rather the gentleness of his disposition than the force and keenness of his intellect. 25

Not long after his marriage he reached the height of civil greatness. The Whig Government had, during some time, been torn by internal dissensions. Lord Townshend led one section of the Cabinet, Lord Sunderland the other. At length, in the spring of 1717, Sunderland triumphed. 30 Townshend retired from office, and was accompanied by Walpole and Cowper. Sunderland proceeded to reconstruct the Ministry, and Addison was appointed Secretary of State. It is certain that the Seals were pressed upon him, and were at first declined by him. Men equally versed in official business might easily have been found, and his colleagues knew that they could not expect assistance from 35



HOLLAND HOUSE

him in debate. He owed his elevation to his popularity, to his stainless probity, and to his literary fame.

But scarcely had Addison entered the Cabinet when his health began to fail. From one serious attack he recovered in the autumn; and his recovery was celebrated in Latin 5 verses, worthy of his own pen, by Vincent Bourne, who was then at Trinity College, Cambridge. A relapse soon took place; and, in the following spring, Addison was prevented by a severe asthma from discharging the duties of his post. He resigned it, and was succeeded by his friend Craggs, 10 a young man whose natural parts, though little improved by cultivation, were quick and showy, whose graceful person and winning manners had made him generally acceptable in society, and who, if he had lived, would probably have been the most formidable of all the rivals of 15 Walpole.

As yet there was no Joseph Hume. The Ministers, therefore, were able to bestow on Addison a retiring pension of fifteen hundred pounds a year. In what form this pension was given we are not told by the biographers, and have not 20 time to inquire. But it is certain that Addison did not vacate his seat in the House of Commons.

Rest of mind and body seemed to have re-established his health; and he thanked God with cheerful piety, for having set him free both from his office and from his asthma. 25 Many years seemed to be before him, and he meditated many works, a tragedy on the death of Socrates, a translation of the Psalms, a treatise on the evidences of Christianity. Of this last performance, a part, which we could well spare, has come down to us. 30

But the fatal complaint soon returned, and gradually prevailed against all the resources of medicine. It is melancholy to think that the last months of such a life should have been overclouded both by domestic and by political vexations. A tradition which began early, which has been 35 generally received, and to which we have nothing to oppose, has represented his wife as an arrogant and imperious

woman. It is said that, till his health failed him, he was glad to escape from the Countess Dowager and her magnificent dining room, blazing with the gilded devices of the House of Rich, to some tavern where he could enjoy a laugh, a talk
 5 about Virgil and Boileau, and a bottle of claret, with the friends of his happier days. All those friends, however, were not left to him. Sir Richard Steele had been gradually estranged by various causes. He considered himself as one who, in evil times, had braved martyrdom for his political
 10 principles, and demanded, when the Whig party was triumphant, a large compensation for what he had suffered when it was militant. The Whig leaders took a very different view of his claims. They thought that he had, by his own petulance and folly, brought them as well as himself into
 15 trouble, and though they did not absolutely neglect him, doled out favours to him with a sparing hand. It was natural that he should be angry with them, and especially angry with Addison. But what above all seems to have disturbed Sir Richard, was the elevation of Tickell, who, at
 20 thut, was made by Addison Undersecretary of State, while the Editor of the *Tatler* and *Spectator*, the author of the *Crisis*, the member for Stockbridge who had been persecuted for firm adherence to the House of Hanover, was, at near fifty, forced, after many solicitations and complaints, to con-
 25 tent himself with a share in the patent of Drury Lane theatre. Steele himself says in his celebrated letter to Congreve, that Addison, by his preference of Tickell, 'incurred the warmest resentment of other gentlemen;' and every thing seems to indicate that, of those resentful gentlemen,
 30 Steele was himself one.

While poor Sir Richard was brooding over what he considered as Addison's unkindness, a new cause of quarrel arose. The Whig party, already divided against itself, was rent by a new schism. The celebrated Bill for limiting the
 35 number of Peers had been brought in. The proud Duke of Somerset, first in rank of all the nobles whose religion permitted them to sit in Parliament, was the ostensible author

of the measure. But it was supported, and, in truth, devised by the Prime Minister.

We are satisfied that the Bill was most pernicious; and we fear that the motives which induced Sunderland to frame it were not honourable to him. But we cannot deny that it was supported by many of the best and wisest men of that age. Nor was this strange. The royal prerogative had, within the memory of the generation then in the vigour of life, been so grossly abused, that it was still regarded with a jealousy which, when the peculiar situation of the House of Brunswick is considered, may perhaps be called immoderate. The particular prerogative of creating peers had, in the opinion of the Whigs, been grossly abused by Queen Anne's last ministry, and even the Tories admitted that her Majesty, in swamping, as it has since been called, the Upper House, had done what only an extreme case could justify. The theory of the English constitution, according to many high authorities, was that three independent powers, the sovereign, the nobility, and the commons, ought constantly to act as checks on each other. If this theory were sound, it seemed to follow that to put one of these powers under the absolute control of the other two, was absurd. But if the number of peers were unlimited, it could not well be denied that the Upper House was under the absolute control of the Crown and the Commons, and was indebted only to their moderation for any power which it might be suffered to retain.

Steele took part with the Opposition, Addison with the Ministers. Steele, in a paper called the *Plebeian*, vehemently attacked the Bill. Sunderland called for help on Addison, and Addison obeyed the call. In a paper called the *Old Whig*, he answered, and indeed refuted, Steele's arguments. It seems to us that the premises of both the controversialists were unsound, that, on those premises, Addison reasoned well and Steele ill, and that consequently Addison brought out a false conclusion, while Steele blundered upon the truth. In style, in wit, and in politeness, Addison maintained his

superiority, though the Old Whig is by no means one of his happiest performances.

At first, both the anonymous opponents observed the laws of propriety. But at length Steele so far forgot himself as to
 5 throw an odious imputation on the morals of the chiefs of the administration. Addison replied with severity, but, in our opinion, with less severity than was due to so grave an offence against morality and decorum, nor did he, in his just anger, forget for a moment the laws of good taste and
 10 good breeding. One calumny which has been often repeated and never yet contradicted, it is our duty to expose. It is asserted in the *Biographia Britannica*, that Addison designated Steele as 'little Dicky.' This assertion was repeated by Johnson, who had never seen the Old Whig, and was
 15 therefore excusable. It has also been repeated by Miss Aikin, who has seen the Old Whig, and for whom therefore there is less excuse. Now, it is true that the words 'little Dicky' occur in the Old Whig, and that Steele's name was Richard. It is equally true that the words 'little Isaac'
 20 occur in the *Duenna*, and that Newton's name was Isaac. But we confidently affirm that Addison's little Dicky had no more to do with Steele, than Sheridan's little Isaac with Newton. If we apply the words 'little Dicky' to Steele, we deprive a very lively and ingenious passage, not only of all
 25 its wit, but of all its meaning. Little Dicky was the nickname of Henry Norris, an actor of remarkably small stature, but of great humour, who played the usurer Gomez, then a most popular part, in Dryden's *Spanish Friar*.¹

¹ We will transcribe the whole paragraph. How it can ever have
 30 been misunderstood is unintelligible to us

'But our author's chief concern is for the poor House of Commons, whom he represents as naked and defenceless, when the Crown, by losing this prerogative, would be less able to protect them against the power of a House of Lords. Who forbears laughing when the Spanish
 35 Friar represents little Dicky, under the person of Gomez, insulting the Colonel that was able to fright him out of his wits with a single frown? This Gomez, says he, flew upon him like a dragon, got him down, the

The merited reproof which Steele had received, though softened by some kind and courteous expressions, galled him bitterly. He replied with little force and great acrimony; but no rejoinder appeared. Addison was fast hastening to his grave; and had, we may well suppose, little disposition to prosecute a quarrel with an old friend. His complaint had terminated in dropsy. He bore up long and manfully. But at length he abandoned all hope, dismissed his physicians, and calmly prepared himself to die

His works he entrusted to the care of Tickell, and dedicated them a very few days before his death to Craggs, in a letter written with the sweet and graceful eloquence of a Saturday's Spectator. In this his last composition, he alluded to his approaching end in words so manly, so cheerful, and so tender, that it is difficult to read them without tears. At the same time he earnestly recommended the interests of Tickell to the care of Craggs

Within a few hours of the time at which this dedication was written, Addison sent to beg Gay, who was then living by his wits about town, to come to Holland House. Gay went and was received with great kindness. To his amazement his forgiveness was implored by the dying man. Poor Gay, the most goodnatured and simple of mankind, could not imagine what he had to forgive. There was, however, some wrong, the remembrance of which weighed on Addison's mind, and which he declared himself anxious to repair. He was in a state of extreme exhaustion; and the parting was doubtless a friendly one on both sides. Gay supposed that some plan to serve him had been in agitation at Court, and had been frustrated by Addison's influence. Nor is this improbable. Gay had paid assiduous court to the royal

Devil being strong in him, and gave him bastinado on bastinado, and buffet on buffet, which the poor Colonel, being prostrate, suffered with a most Christian patience. The improbability of the fact never fails to raise mirth in the audience, and one may venture to answer for a British House of Commons, if we may guess from its conduct hitherto, that it will scarce be either so tame or so weak as our author supposes.

family. But in the Queen's days he had been the eulogist of Bolingbroke, and was still connected with many Tories. It is not strange that Addison, while heated by conflict, should have thought himself justified in obstructing the preferment
 5 of one whom he might regard as a political enemy. Neither is it strange that when reviewing his whole life, and earnestly scrutinising all his motives, he should think that he had acted an unkind and ungenerous part, in using his power against a distressed man of letters, who was as harmless and
 10 as helpless as a child.

One inference may be drawn from this anecdote. It appears that Addison, on his deathbed, called himself to a strict account, and was not at ease till he had asked pardon for an injury which it was not even suspected that he had
 15 committed, for an injury which would have caused disquiet only to a very tender conscience. Is it not then reasonable to infer that, if he had really been guilty of forming a base conspiracy against the fame and fortunes of a rival, he would have expressed some remorse for so serious a crime?
 20 But it is unnecessary to multiply arguments and evidence for the defence, when there is neither argument nor evidence for the accusation

The last moments of Addison were perfectly serene. His interview with his step-son is universally known 'See,' he
 25 said, 'how a Christian can die.' The piety of Addison was, in truth, of a singularly cheerful character. The feeling which predominates in all his devotional writings is gratitude. God was to him the allwise and allpowerful friend who had watched over his cradle with more than maternal tenderness ;
 30 who had listened to his cries before they could form themselves in prayer, who had preserved his youth from the snares of vice, who had made his cup run over with worldly blessings, who had doubled the value of those blessings, by bestowing a thankful heart to enjoy them, and dear
 35 friends to partake them, who had rebuked the waves of the Ligurian gulf, had purified the autumnal air of the Campagna, and had restrained the avalanches of Mont Cenis.



ADDISON'S TOMB IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY
(From a photograph)

Of the Psalms, his favourite was that which represents the Ruler of all things under the endearing image of a shepherd, whose crook guides the flock safe, through gloomy and desolate glens, to meadows well watered and rich with
 5 herbage. On that goodness to which he ascribed all the happiness of his life, he relied in the hour of death with the love which casteth out fear. He died on the seventeenth of June 1719. He had just entered on his forty-eighth year.

His body lay in state in the Jerusalem Chamber, and was
 10 borne thence to the Abbey at dead of night. The choir sang a funeral hymn. Bishop Atterbury, one of those Tories who had loved and honoured the most accomplished of the Whigs, met the corpse, and led the procession by torchlight, round the shrine of Saint Edward and the graves of the Planta-
 15 genets, to the Chapel of Henry the Seventh. On the north side of that Chapel, in the vault of the house of Albemarle, the coffin of Addison lies next to the coffin of Montague. Yet a few months, and the same mourners passed again along the same aisle. The same sad anthem was again
 20 chanted. The same vault was again opened, and the coffin of Craggs was placed close to the coffin of Addison.

Many tributes were paid to the memory of Addison but one alone is now remembered. Tickell bewailed his friend
 25 in an elegy which would do honour to the greatest name in our literature, and which unites the energy and magnificence of Dryden to the tenderness and purity of Cowper. This fine poem was prefixed to a superb edition of Addison's works, which was published, in 1721, by subscription. The names of the subscribers proved how widely his fame had
 30 been spread. That his countrymen should be eager to possess his writings, even in a costly form, is not wonderful. But it is wonderful that, though English literature was then little studied on the continent, Spanish Grandees, Italian Prelates, Marshals of France, should be found in the list.
 35 Among the most remarkable names are those of the Queen of Sweden, of Prince Eugene, of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, of the Dukes of Parma, Modena, and Guastalla, of the Doge

of Genoa, of the Regent Orleans, and of Cardinal Dubois. We ought to add that this edition, though eminently beautiful, is in some important points defective, nor, indeed, do we yet possess a complete collection of Addison's writings.

It is strange that neither his opulent and noble widow, 5 nor any of his powerful and attached friends, should have thought of placing even a simple tablet, inscribed with his name, on the walls of the Abbey. It was not till three generations had laughed and wept over his pages that the omission was supplied by the public veneration. At length, 10 in our own time, his image, skilfully graven, appeared in Poets' Corner. It represents him, as we can conceive him, clad in his dressing gown, and freed from his wig, stepping from his parlour at Chelsea into his trim little garden, with the account of the Everlasting Club, or the Loves of Hilpa 15 and Shalum, just finished for the next day's Spectator, in his hand. Such a mark of national respect was due to the unsullied statesman, to the accomplished scholar, to the master of pure English eloquence, to the consummate painter of life and manners. It was due, above all, to the great 20 satirist, who alone knew how to use ridicule without abusing it, who, without inflicting a wound, effected a great social reform, and who reconciled wit and virtue, after a long and disastrous separation, during which wit had been led astray by profligacy, and virtue by fanaticism. 25

NOTES

P 3, l. 2 **The franchises appertaining to her sex.**—The privilege of exemption from the frank criticism to which a masculine author is liable.

P 3, l. 5 **Which boasts of any female writers, &c.**—The most eminent of these who had come before the public when Macaulay wrote, were Harriet Martineau (1802–1876), novelist, historian, philosopher, and miscellaneous writer, Elizabeth Barrett Browning (1809–1861), the poetess, and Mrs Mary Shelley (1797–1851). But there was a mild glow of diffused popularity surrounding the names of Mrs Jameson, Mrs. Mary Somerville, Miss Agnes Strickland, Miss Catherine Sinclair, and Mrs Catherine Gore—the age was prolific of such names, nearly all of them long since forgotten. Neither Mary Ann Evans (George Eliot) nor the famous Brontë sisters had yet begun to publish, nor had Adelaide Procter, Mrs Olphand, Miss Charlotte Yonge, Mrs Henry Wood, Mrs. Cowden Clarke, though all were living then. Felicia Hemans, the poetess, had died a few years before.

P 3, l. 12 **The courteous Knight.**—The allusion is to the Italian epic poem, the 'Orlando Furioso' of Ariosto (1474–1533), Canto xlv st 68. The knight is Ruggiero, a pagan champion of the Saracen army who became a convert to Christianity. He has to defend his ground in a combat, serious on her side, against a feminine warrior, Bradamante, with whom he had fallen in love and whom he afterwards married. She had refused to marry anyone who could not prove himself 'the better man'.

P. 3, l. 15 **alisarda.**—The sword of Ruggiero; as Orlando had his sword 'Durindana,' Charlemagne his 'Joyeuse,' and Arthur his 'Excalibur'.

P 3, l. 19 **iss Aikin.**—Miss Lucy Aikin (1781–1864) had written memoirs of the courts of Elizabeth, James I, and Charles I. Her 'Life of Addison' is the slender peg upon which Macaulay hangs this present essay under the pretence of writing a review of her book. She also wrote a Life of her father, a doctor of literary tastes, and other works. It is a case of the 'fly in amber', it is only Macaulay's essay that has accidentally preserved her name from oblivion.

P 4, l 6 **Dunces and impostors.**—The Rev Robert Montgomery was amusingly but somewhat unfairly castigated in another of Macaulay's essays as a 'dunce', James Macpherson's 'Ossian' and the more recent 'Vortigern' of William Ireland were, perhaps, among the impostures which Macaulay had in mind. (Cf p 13, l 3, and note)

P 4, l 7 **Laputan flapper.**—In Swift's 'Gulliver's Travels' the hero comes to the flying island of Laputa, whose inhabitants, philosophic dreamers, were so absent-minded that they required the attendance of servants called 'flappers' These carried bladders with which they flapped their masters on the mouth or ears, to recall their attention when anyone spoke to them (See note on p 14, l 16)

P 4, l 18 **Shakespeare and Raleigh.**—I.e the Elizabethan Age, represented by the poet and the man of action. Both died in the reign of James I, but their lives and their greatness belonged to the preceding reign. Sir Walter Raleigh's execution was the gravest stain of all upon the reputation of King James.

P 4, l 19 **Congreve and Prior.**—I.e the Age of Anne, represented by the dramatist and the accomplished literary man of the world William Congreve (1670–1729) was a brilliant writer of comedies and literary dictator to the wits of his day after the death of Dryden (See Macaulay's 'Essay on the Comic Dramatists of the Restoration · Leigh Hunt') Matthew Prior (1664–1721) was a mediocre poet, an elegant epicurean, and a fairly successful diplomatist who represented his country at the French court.

P 4, l 20 **us and peaked beards of Theobalds.**—The gentlemen of the courts of Elizabeth and James I The ruff was worn by both sexes, it was a stiff collar of muslin or lawn, worn round the neck, sometimes six inches or more in breadth The peaked or 'spade' beard was then the fashionable form Theobalds Park, near Waltham Cross in Essex, was the sumptuous creation of William Cecil, Lord Burleigh, Secretary of State to Elizabeth and James I Here he entertained the Queen on more than one occasion James took a fancy to the place and acquired it from Lord Burleigh, and it was at Theobalds that he died The former palace has long since become a country gentleman's place, the old pronunciation, 'Tibbalds,' still survives

P 4, l 21 **Steenkirks and flowing periwigs.**—The gentlemen of the reigns of William III and Queen Anne Steenkirk cravats were long loose neckties of fine lace, worn to commemorate the costume in which the French officers, who had been taken by surprise and had to dress hastily, appeared at the battle of Steenkirk, or Steenkerke, in Belgium Here in July 1692 the English under William III were defeated by the French under Marshal Luxembourg Like the ruff, the Steenkirk was worn by both sexes Perwig, earlier 'perwyke,' is an altered form of the French 'peruque,' now 'perruque,' a wig, the latter word is only an abbreviation of perwig

P 4, l 22. **a pton.**—Hampton Court Palace, in Middlesex, built by Cardinal Wolsey and 'presented' to Henry VIII. in 1525, was a

favourite place of residence with the Tudor and Stuart sovereigns. It is still a royal palace, but has not been inhabited by royalty since the days of George I. Part is open to the public, part reserved for distressed aristocrats.

P 4, l. 30 Addison's letters are pleasant enough reading, but they have not the naturalness, ease, and vivacity of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's or Keats's best, or Cowper's, there is sometimes an awkward straining after effect, and sometimes a stiffness in expression very different from the delightful ease and charm of the famous essays in which he 'found himself'

P. 4, l. 37. This essay was written in 1843, and Addison died in 1719. He was buried in Westminster Abbey (See p. 98, lines 16, 17)

P 5, l. 2 **Abject idolatry, &c.**—Macaulay was probably thinking of James Boswell's worship of Dr Johnson.

P. 5, l. 10 **Parnell's.**—Thomas Parnell, Archbishop of Clogher (1679–1718), a mediocre poet, praised by Pope because he attacked the latter's enemies, Dennis and Theobald, in a satire entitled 'The Life of Zorlus'

P 5, l. 10 **Dr. lair's.**—Dr. Hugh Blair (1718–1800) was a Presbyterian minister and Professor at Edinburgh. His 'Sermons,' published in 1777 on the advice of Dr. Johnson, attained an extraordinary popularity, and were translated into several European languages

P 5, l. 11. **r. Johnson's.**—The tragedy of 'Irene,' written by Samuel Johnson in his youth, was produced by Garrick at Drury Lane Theatre in 1749. It only ran for nine nights. Addison's 'Cato,' on the other hand, had a phenomenal success, partly for political reasons, when it was first produced.

P. 5, l. 12 **A high departure, &c.**—Essay writing. \

P. 5, l. 14 **o equal.**—An exaggerated and partial judgment. Most critics would consider Charles Lamb to be more than his equal in this department, to say nothing of Lord Bacon.

P 5, l. 18 **Generous and delicate friendship.**—Eg to Steele, to Tickell, Ambrose Philips, Budgell, among others.

P. 5, l. 20 **Te ple at utton's.**—A coffee-house in Russell Street, Covent Garden, where Addison established Daniel Button, a former servant of the Countess of Warwick, about the year 1712. Here Addison nightly 'gave his little senate laws,' a literary oracle to his circle of friends and dependants. Among the wits who frequented Button's were Pope, Swift, Arbuthnot, Steele, Dr Garth, Savage, and Armstrong. The coffee-house declined in popularity after Addison's death and subsequently became a private house. It was not till 1865 that the house was pulled down. A notable institution of Addison's at Button's was the lion-head, a carved head designed by Hogarth, the face of which was 'compounded out of that of a lion and a wizard'; the mouth of the lion was used to receive contributions intended for the *Taller*,

the *Spectator*, and the *Guardian*. This famous hon's head is now in the possession of the Duke of Bedford at Woburn Abbey. Pope rendered himself very unpopular at Button's by his biting epigrams, and is said to have been finally driven out of it by Ambrose Philips, who hung up a rod there, with which he threatened to chastise Pope.

P 5, l 23 **Some ble shes.**—Perhaps a weakness for aristocrats, and an undue susceptibility to flattery may be imputed to him not unjustly, but nothing could be falser or more malignant than Pope's attribution to him of ungenerous envy and covert, cowardly disparagement of literary rivals, while the sneer that 'he ne'er obliged' is justly met by Macaulay's appeal to the fact that 'he made the fortune of almost every one of his intimate friends' (See p 46, l 25, note.) The scandal that he drank wine to excess rests on no contemporary evidence except that of Pope. Mr. Courthope, in his monograph on Addison, shows the intrinsic improbability of the report, as entirely inconsistent with all that we know of Addison's character, and quotes the positive testimony of Bishop Berkeley to the contrary, in which he describes Addison as 'a very sober man.' That he used a certain amount of wine in society to loosen his tongue and overcome his constitutional shyness, is, no doubt, true. (See Introduction, viii 5)

P. 5, l. 26. **The old anat o lists, &c.**—The 'noble parts' of the body were the vital parts, the heart, lungs, liver, and brain, in the language of the old writers on anatomy, 'noble' being often employed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in the sense 'of the best kind, choice, excellent,' as 'nobilis' was applied in Latin to 'farms' by Cicero, and to 'herds' by Ovid. Thus Mandeville speaks of olive oil as 'a noble medicine,' and Pepys of 'a noble petticoat' of his wife.

P. 5, l 30. **Just har ony, &c.**—A well-adjusted balance of qualities. So Macaulay says of Macchiavelli: 'The qualities of the active and of the contemplative statesman appear to have been blended in the mind of the writer into a rare and exquisite harmony.'

P. 5, l 31. **Exact te per, &c.**—'Temper' is here used in the archaic sense of 'mean' or 'medium.' So John Hampden spoke of 'A temper between the opinions of France and Oxford,' and Macaulay has elsewhere, 'The perfect lawgiver is a just temper between the man of theory . . . and the mere man of business.'

P. 6, l. 2. **The iographia ritannica** was an unfinished 'Dictionary of National Biography,' the second and enlarged edition of which was edited by a dissenting minister, Dr Andrew Kippis. Only six volumes were published, and only the first five volumes, down to the letter F, appeared in 1778-1779, before his death. Dean Addison wrote 'A modest plea for the Clergy,' and treatises on Tangier, the Moors, and the Jews of Barbary, besides numerous theological and devotional works.

P. 6, l. 2 **A poor scholar.**—A 'servitor,' as the poor student was called at Oxford from a Latin word meaning a servant, had formerly to wait at table on the fellows and gentlemen-commoners. He was

distinguished by a peculiar dress and was partly supported by the college funds.

P. 6, 1 6 **oyalist**.—Oxford was staunch in support of the Stuart cause until it was alienated by the tyrannical injustice of James II.

P. 6, 1 6 **La pooned**.—Saturated. A lampoon is a personal satire, from French *lampon*, a drinking-song

P. 6, 1 9 **The Liturgy of the fallen Church**.—The services of the Church of England. Liturgy, from Greek *λειτουργία*, public service to the State, whether civil or ecclesiastical, through old French *liturgie*, signifies 'a form or method of conducting public worship'

P. 6, 1 10 **The Wild of Sussex**.—'Wild,' an obsolete form of 'weald,' a waste, occurs in Shakespeare, 1 Henry IV, ii 1, 60: 'A franklin in the wild of Kent' The form 'wild' accords with the true etymology of the word; but it has been confused with *weald*, a forest, modern English *wold*, owing to the fact that the middle English *weeld*, a waste, bears a close resemblance to middle English *waeld*, a forest. The Weald is an oval-shaped area, not confined to Sussex; it is marked by an escarpment of the chalk which begins at Folkestone and passes through Kent, Surrey, Hants, and Sussex, meeting the sea again at Beachy Head

P. 6, 1 12 **unkirk**.—In the Nord department of France, forty-three miles north-west of Lille It was burned by the English in 1388, and its possession was frequently afterwards contested by the French and Spaniards In 1658 Turenne surrendered it to the English after his defeat by Condé Charles II. sold it to Louis XIV., but it was restored in 1662 and was a strongly fortified English seaport at this period.

P. 6, 1 14 **Tangier**.—When Charles II married the Infanta Catherine of Portugal in 1662, Tangier, a seaport in Morocco, and Bombay formed part of her dowry. Charles abandoned the place, after blowing up the fortifications in 1683, and it became a nest of pirates.

P. 6, 1 25 **Polity**.—Political constitution, government: through French and Low Latin from Greek *πολιτεία*, statesmanship, government

P. 6, 1 25 **arbitrary**.—The generic name for the whole tract in North Africa which comprised Algeria, Morocco, Fez, Tunis, and Tripoli. He published his 'Description of Barbary' in 1671

P. 6, 1 27 **abbinical learning**.—The learning of the Jewish rabbis, the doctors or expounders of the Hebrew law

P. 6, 1 29. The Archdeaconry of Salisbury was held simultaneously with his living of Milston (See note on l. 35)

P. 6, 1 30 **The evolution**.—Of 1688.

P. 6, 1 32 **Convocation**.—The Convocations of the two provinces of Canterbury and York are the recognised constitutional assemblies of the English clergy, and have continued, practically unchanged, since their institution in the reign of Edward I Each convocation is summoned by writs from the Crown to the archbishops, and consists of an

upper house of bishops, presided over by the archbishop, and a lower house of deans, archdeacons, and elected proctors or representatives of the rank and file of the clergy

P. 6, l 32 The liberal policy of Willia and Tillotson.—Archbishop Tillotson, who was then Dean of St. Paul's, co-operated with William III to secure the passing of the Toleration Act of 1689, a measure which removed some of the disabilities under which dissenters had laboured by repealing the Conventicle Act of 1664 and the Five Mile Act of 1665. The Corporation and Test Acts, however, remained unrepealed till 1828

P 6, l. 35 Dr Addison, who was a native of Crosby Ravensworth in Westmoreland, and the son of a clergyman, was rector of Milston in Wiltshire when in 1672 his eldest son Joseph was born. He was promoted to the Deanery of Lichfield in Staffordshire in 1683, to which the Archdeaconry of Coventry was added in 1684. Mrs Addison was herself the daughter of one divine and the sister of another, William Gulston, Bishop of Bristol. There were three other children born after Joseph, 'each of whom for excellent talents and singular perfections was as much above the ordinary world as their brother Joseph was above them,' as Steele testifies in his 'Epistle Dedicatory' to Congreve, prefixed to Addison's comedy 'The Drummer.' His next brother, Gulston, succeeded Thomas Pitt as Governor of Fort St George, and died at Madras in 1709, where his brother Lancelot died two years later after a distinguished career at Oxford. His sister Dorothy married a French pastor and survived till 1750. She was described by Swift as 'a sort of a wit' and very like her brother.

P. 6, l 36 is rudiments.—The elements or beginnings of knowledge, which in those days signified little else than Latin and, sometimes, Greek grammar. His previous schools were at Amesbury, Salisbury, and Lichfield.

P. 6, l. 37 Charter ouse.—This famous old London foundation should have its name written as one word, Charterhouse being probably a corruption of French 'Chartreuse,' a Carthusian monastery, so called after 'La Grande Chartreuse' near Grenoble, in the south-east of France, the first monastery of the Carthusian order of monks, founded in 1086 by Bruno of Cologne. Charterhouse was founded by Sir Thomas Sutton in 1611, and comprised an almshouse for broken-down soldiers and merchants and a school for the sons of poor gentlemen. There had been previously a Carthusian monastery on the spot, founded in 1371 and disbanded in 1537, after which the property came into the possession of the Howards, from whom Sutton bought it. The school was removed to a site near Godalming in Surrey in 1872, but the almshouse still remains on the old site in Clerkenwell hallowed by the genius of Thackeray in 'The Newcomes'

P. 7, l 4. A barring out.—A curious custom existed formerly in English schools, by which the schoolboys annually fortified themselves in their schoolroom or school buildings and shut out the masters, usually on the eve of the breaking-up day. In Mr R. C. Goulding's

'Louth Old Corporation Records' (1891) there are some quaint excerpts bearing on the custom of 'exclusion' or 'barring out'.

'1647 Item—expended on the schoolmasters at their shutting out, and on the Companie with them, and on the schollers, xxxs.

'1650. For wine, sugar, and sacke, tobacco and cakes, when the schollers shutt out theire masters, £1 14s 8d

'The custom appears to have been continued until the end of the century, when it fell into abeyance' The custom, however, survived in some schools well into the nineteenth century.

P. 7, l 15 **one honour to a aster of Arts**, and below, such as **veteran professors** **ight envy**, are instances of the exaggeration to which the pictorial style of Macaulay necessarily tends.

P 7, l 16 He went into residence in 1687. Queen's was his father's college also, and was closely connected at that period with the counties of Cumberland and Westmoreland.

P 7, l 18. **agdalen** (pronounced Maudlin) College, Oxford This is a mistake of Macaulay's Lancaster was then fellow and afterwards provost of Queen's College

P 7, l 25. **His chancellor**.—The infamous chief justice, Jeffreys, had been rewarded for his bloody work after the defeat of Monmouth at Sedgmoor in 1685 by being made Lord Chancellor

P. 7, l 28 **The prosecution of the bishops**.—For refusing to read during divine service the King's renewed Declaration of Indulgence issued in April 1688, by which James hoped to bribe the Nonconformists to support the repeal of the Test Act and to pave the way for the destruction of Protestantism in England, James prosecuted Archbishop Sancroft and six bishops who had signed a temperate protest against the illegality of the Declaration The trial and acquittal of the seven bishops was the turning-point of James's reign

P 7, l 30. The fellows of Magdalen were ordered to elect one Anthony Farmer, a Roman Catholic and a man of infamous life, President of the College They refused, and, as they were entitled by law to do, elected John Hough, one of their own body, afterwards Bishop of Lichfield, 1699, and of Worcester, 1717 James's Ecclesiastical Commissioners, headed by Jeffreys, then declared the election void, and recommended for election Parker, Bishop of Oxford On their refusal to comply with the king's orders the president, fellows, and demies were all expelled in October 1687 by a special commission, and Parker was installed. Parker, however, died shortly after his installation, and a Roman Catholic prelate, Bonaventure Gifford, succeeded; twelve Roman Catholics were made fellows in a single day. The exiles were reinstated in September 1688

P 8, l 2 **A** **ild and liberal spirit, &c.**—See note on p. 6, l 6 Oxford has always inclined to Tory and High Church principles, while Macaulay's University, Cambridge, was dominated by Puritanism during the Civil War and was in Macaulay's day largely in the Whig

interest. Macaulay's partisan spirit is amusingly illustrated in many such remarks.

P. 8, l. 12 *emies*.—Magdalen has thirty demysheps of £50 a year each, which correspond to the ordinary scholarships at other colleges and are awarded to good scholars of slender means, and eight senior demysheps of £100 a year each, awarded as post-graduate scholarships or 'half-fellowships.' The word is the French *demi*, Latin *dimidius*, half, and is accented on the second syllable.

P. 8, l. 16. The Cherwell (pronounced Charwell) is a tributary of the Thames.

P. 8, l. 22. *Doctors*.—The dons, the office-holders, and the governing body of the College.

P. 8, l. 23. *Common-room*.—The private room to which the dignitaries of a college retire—for dessert, wine, and coffee—after the dinner at 'the high table' in the college hall, at Cambridge this is styled the 'combination-room.'

P. 8, l. 27 *verrattng Addison's classical attainments*.—Macaulay here devotes a rather disproportionate amount of space to the endeavour to show that Addison's classical knowledge was practically limited to the Latin poets, that he had little acquaintance with the Latin prose writers, and that he knew still less about Greek literature. It is an ingenious but unconvincing piece of special pleading. Miss Aikin may well be forgiven for supposing that he who as a boy of fifteen had brought to Oxford 'a stock of learning which would have done honour to a Master of Arts,' was, after ten years' continued classical studies, 'often prolonged far into the night,' a competent Greek scholar who might be trusted safely to translate Herodotus. 'Nor are we confident she erred.' The truth seems to be that while Addison was not a great Greek scholar, like Bentley, or Porson, Shillito, or Jebb, his general acquaintance with Latin and Greek authors was as extensive as that of any other cultivated scholar of his day, and that his *special* familiarity with the Latin poets made him almost an expert in that particular branch of classical study. It is true that he very seldom quotes a Greek author in the original, but allusions to the Greek poets, especially to Homer, Hesiod, and the epigrammatists, are by no means infrequent in his writings, while he occasionally refers to passages of prose writers such as Strabo, Plutarch, and Longinus. It is noteworthy that in his 'Essay on Virgil's Georgics,' though his analysis of the characteristics of Hesiod shows that he was thoroughly well acquainted with the 'Works and Days,' he only quotes one passage and that in *English*; and it is at least an arguable proposition that he purposely refrained from quoting Greek authors in the original. A knowledge of Greek was a rare acquisition in the cultivated society of his day,¹ while Latin was generally familiar, and a shy scholar like

¹ In *Spectator*, No. 26, he remarks that an epitaph in Greek or Hebrew is not understood once in a twelvemonth.

Addison, who was at the same time a man of the world and a statesman, would naturally shrink from anything that might be thought to savour in the slightest degree of pedantry. See note below on p 11, lines 24 and 25, and Appendix II

P 8, l 31 **Lucretius, &c.**—Titus Lucretius Carus was born about B.C. 95, and died, by his own hand it is said, about 52—some say 55—B.C. He was a sceptical philosopher and poet, who combined the moral and religious doctrines of the Epicureans with the atomic theory of Leucippus in a vigorous poem on 'Natural Science,' written in Latin hexameters

P 8, l 31 **Catullus** **Valerius Catullus** was born at Verona about B.C. 87 and died about B.C. 54. His poetry is mainly lyrical and amatory. He had great powers, sometimes abused; 'to a strong lyrical impulse he united a graceful simplicity of diction, delicate feeling, and a love of the beautiful' (Cruickwell)

P 8, l 31 **Claudius Claudianus** was born about A.D. 365, probably at Alexandria, and died about A.D. 408. He wrote an epic poem in Latin hexameters on the war against the Getae, a Thracian tribe on the Danube

P 8, l 31. **Aurelius Prudentius Clemens** was born in Spain in A.D. 348 and died about A.D. 408. He was an early Christian poet and wrote in Latin

P 8, l 37 **Buchanan**.—George Buchanan (1508–1582) was a celebrated Scotch historian and poet. He wrote Latin satires and a Latin version of the Psalms.

Milton's Latin poems were mostly written at Cambridge or at Horton. They are spirited English poems written in Latin, the diction of which is much more free and untrammelled than modern imitators of classical models allow themselves, and it is probable that they would have been even more remote from the taste and understanding of a Roman.

P 10, l 5 **Vouchsafed . . . only a cursory glance.**—See note on p 8, l 27. This is an absurd exaggeration, to say the least of it; but it is eclipsed by the grotesque assertion that his knowledge of Greek was 'evidently'—the 'evidently' is characteristic of Macaulay—less than that of many modern sixth-form boys.

P 10, l 12. **A minute examination, &c.**—So far is this from being true, that a minute examination of Addison's prose works would fully demonstrate the falsity of Macaulay's accusation.

P 10, l 18 **The eta orphoses.**—A poem in fifteen books written in elegiac verse by Ovid, Publius Ovidius Naso, B.C. 43–A.D. 17, a contemporary of Vergil, Horace, Propertius, and Tibullus. He was a man of dissolute life and a base flatterer of Augustus, who banished him to the shores of the Black Sea, where he died. The poem is a versified selection from classical mythology. His poetry was mainly amatory, and much of it licentious, but he was a facile and elegant

poet with a natural gift for versification. His great powers were in the main abused to base ends, much of his poetry is licentious even beyond the measure of his age.

P. 10, l 22. **Virgil, Statius.**—Vergil, Publius Vergilius Maro, was born at Mantua in B C 70 and died 19 B C, he was by far the greatest of Roman poets. His chief works were his Eclogues, pastoral dialogues and soliloquies imitated from Theocritus, Bion, and Moschus, his 'Georgics,' a finished poem on agriculture in which Hesiod was his model, and his great unfinished and unrevised epic, the 'Æneid,' which narrates the adventures of Æneas at and after the fall of Troy, and was modelled on Homer's 'Iliad.' His was not an eminently creative genius; but he was a perfect artist in verse, gifted with a delicate imagination, purity of thought and language, and a majestic dignity of style.

P 10, l 22 **Publius Papinius Statius** was born about A D 61 at Naples, and died in the year 98. He was an epic poet of the second rank, and wrote epics on the wars of Thebes and the feats of Achilles.

P 10, l 26. **Pentheus.**—A king of Thebes who, according to a well-known Greek myth, was torn to pieces by the female worshippers of Dionysus (Bacchus) for prying into their orgies or secret rites in honour of the wine-god.

P 10, l 28 **Theocritus.**—The Greek pastoral poet, *par excellence*, of Syracuse in Sicily, who lived in the third century B C, tells the story in his twenty-sixth Idyll.

P 10, l 28 **Euripides** (B.C. 480–406), the last and least of the three Greek masters of tragedy whose works have come down to us, dramatised the story of Pentheus in his tragedy, the 'Bacchæ.'

P 10, l 32 **Little or no knowledge.**—But compare Addison's remarks on Theocritus in *Spectator*, No 58.

P 10, l 36 **Ausonius . . . anilius . . . Cicero.**—Decimus Magnus Ausonius (A D 310–390) was born at Bordeaux and was tutor to the emperor Gratian, who made him a Roman consul in the year 379. His poetry was chiefly idyllic.

P. 10, l. 36 **arcus anilius.**—Wrote an astronomical poem, the 'Astronomicon,' of which five books are extant. His poem was first discovered in the sixteenth century, and his date is somewhat uncertain; he was born at least as early as B C 13, for he mentions Varus's defeat of A D 7; but no Augustan writer makes any mention of him. He was a Stoic, and set himself to combat the views of Lucretius.

P 10, l. 36 **arcus Tullius Cicero.**—The famous Roman orator, statesman, philosopher, and miscellaneous writer (B.C. 106–43). He was a vain, weak man, but a sincere patriot. As a writer, he was a consummate master of style and diction.

P. 11, l 1. **Poetasters.**—Second-rate poets.

P. 11, l. 6 **annibal's ar y.**—The supremacy of Rome was established upon the ruins of her chief maritime rival, Carthage, in the three

Punic wars It was in the second Punic war (B.C. 218–201) that Hannibal, the most formidable enemy that the Romans encountered in their march to empire, crossed the Alps and invaded Italy. For over fifteen years he maintained himself in his enemies' country and inflicted numerous defeats upon them without ever losing a battle. After defeating Scipio on the banks of the river Ticinus, and both consuls, Scipio and Sempornius, at the Trebia, B.C. 218, he crossed the Apennines in the spring of the following year and invaded Etruria. 'As he was attempting to cross the Apennines,' says Livy, Book XXI, 'he was encountered by a storm so furious that its effects almost equalled in severity the disaster of the Alps.' Livy proceeds to describe a hurricane of wind which tore away the soldiers' tents as fast as they erected them, 'loud thunder and lightnings between the peals by which they were stunned and rendered insensible,' 'a torrent of snowy hail,' and thereafter 'a cold so intense that the prostrated men and cattle were for a long time unable to rise, being so stuffy frozen that they could not bend their joints. Two days they remained in that spot as if pent up by an enemy.'

P 11, l 7 **Polybius** (B.C. 204–122) was a Greek historian who was taken prisoner after the defeat of Perseus, King of Macedon. At Rome he formed an intimate friendship with the younger Scipio (Æmilianus Africanus Minor) and accompanied him to the siege and capture of Carthage, which closed the third Punic war, B.C. 146. He wrote a general history of Greece and Rome from B.C. 220 to 146, prefaced by a summary of early Roman history, but only five of forty books are extant. Macaulay draws a just distinction between the 'authentic narrative' of Polybius and the 'picturesque narrative' of Livy. For, besides the advantage possessed by the former of describing events either very recent or actually within his own lifetime, he was a most painstaking inquirer, a man versed in politics and war, and in some cases an eye-witness of 'history in the making.'

P 11, l 8 **Livy**.—Titus Livius Patavinus, about B.C. 59–A.D. 17, wrote in Latin a history of Rome from its foundation to B.C. 9, only 35 of 142 books are extant complete, with fragments of another five. As an historian he had some of the merits—and defects—of Macaulay himself. His narrative is clear, lively, and picturesque, but the charm and the eloquence of his style conceal a partisan bias, an ignorance of practical life, a lack of faithful research, and an uncritical habit of mind, which render his history always untrustworthy and often grossly untrue.

P 11, l 8 **Languid hexameters of Silius Italicus**.—I.e. his dull and spiritless epic.

P 11, l 8 **Caius Silius Italicus** (about A.D. 25–100) wrote an epic poem on the second Punic war in sixteen books, it is, for the most part, a laborious versification of the narratives of Polybius and Livy. He is said to have starved himself to death on account of an incurable tumour from which he suffered.

P 11, l 9. **The Rubicon**.—The little stream which then divided

Cisalpine Gaul from Italy proper. It was by crossing the Rubicon at the head of his army in B.C. 49 that Cæsar took the first open step against the Republic, it was a declaration of war and was so understood by Pompeius and the senate.

P 11, l 10. **Plutarch.**—Plutarch, about A.D. 50–120, was a Greek moral philosopher and biographer, who left his native country and taught Greek philosophy at Rome until a few years before his death. His chief works were his ‘Morals’ and his famous ‘Lives of Illustrious Men,’ of which Shakespeare availed himself so largely in the Roman plays. The scheme was to write the biographies of eminent Greeks and Romans in pairs, matched according to a real or supposed parallelism in their lives and characters.

P 11, l 11. **The Commentaries.**—The two works of Julius Cæsar (B.C. 100–44) upon the Gallic and Civil Wars are known as the ‘Commentarii.’ They are concise narratives of his campaigns written with military brevity and without any ornaments of style.

P 11, l 11½. **Letters to Atticus.**—The letters of Cicero to his intimate friend, Titus Pomponius Atticus, a wealthy Roman knight whose eke-name, or ‘agnomen,’ Atticus, was given him on account of his fondness for Greek literature and philosophy. He was born at Rome B.C. 109, spent twenty years at Athens, B.C. 85–65, and died in B.C. 32. The letters are valuable from the light which they throw on the politics of the time, on the characters of the chief actors in historical events, and on the social manners and customs of the period. The style is familiar, elliptical, full of hints and allusions, to many of which we have no longer the key, they abound also in tags and quotations of Greek, as the letters of some Englishmen of the eighteenth century were interlarded with French.

P 11, l 14. **Lucan.**—Marcus Annæus Lucanus was born in Spain A.D. 39, and was compelled to destroy himself, to avoid execution, for his share in Piso’s conspiracy against the emperor Nero. He was a nephew of Seneca and a rhetorical poet of considerable powers, if without much judgment or taste, but he died before he was thirty. He wrote a Latin epic poem, entitled ‘Pharsalia,’ in ten books, describing the civil war between Cæsar and Pompeius, which he had brought down to the meeting of Cæsar and Cleopatra in Egypt before his untimely death in the year 65.

P 11, l 17. **Pindar . . . Callimachus . . . the Attic dramatists.**—Pindar, born about A.D. 520 at Thebes in Bœotia, lived to a great age and died, some say at the age of 86, others at the age of 100. He is the greatest lyrical poet of the ancient world, in his odes, hymns, and pæans he celebrated gods, and heroes, and victors in the Olympian games in brilliant and audacious flights of verse in which, to paraphrase Horace, he was a law unto himself. So great was the reverence felt for his memory that Pindar’s house was alone preserved when the Spartans razed Thebes to the ground and when Alexander reduced it to ashes, as Milton has recorded in a famous sonnet. The fame of

Pindar, Hesiod, and Plutarch vindicated Boeotia from the familiar Athenian taunt against the Boeotian, that he was a dullard and a glutton.

P 11, l 17 **Calli achus** was a Greek poet of the third century B C, whose precise date is unknown, his death is variously placed in 270 and in 240 B C. Only a few epigrams, an elegy, and some hymns of his are extant.

P 11, l 17. **The Attic dra atists** are Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides.

P 11, l. 19 **orace, Juvenal.**—Quintus Horatius Flaccus, Roman lyrical poet and satirist, B C 65–8, was a contemporary and friend of Vergil, and a favourite with the emperor Augustus. Through the beneficence of his friend and patron Mæcenas he was placed in possession of a modest competence—his Sabine farm—with which he was content. In his lyrical odes he was a professed imitator of the Greeks, but showed consummate ease, delicacy, and elegance; in satire he was more original, but without moral earnestness. He played round the foibles of his friends and of society with a good-humoured wit which wounded nobody.

P. 11, l 19 **Decimus Junius Juvenalis** (about A D 46–130, his precise date is uncertain) was the greatest of the Roman satirists and the last poet of the great period of Roman poetry. In satire he was the very antipodes of Horace, he lashed the vices of the age with so much boldness and severity that the emperor Domitian had to send him into an honourable kind of exile by appointing him commander of a garrison at Pentapolis in Egypt. Vigorous and full of shrewd strokes of pitiless wit, his satires are too gross for the taste of a world that has been since shamed by Christianity out of an open contempt for purity.

P 11, l 20 **The Treatise on edals.**—‘Dialogues upon the usefulness of ancient medals,’ published 1726. This graceful disquisition, in which medals and solid information about them play almost as humble a rôle as Miss Aikin’s work in Macaulay’s review of it, is largely a mosaic of classical quotations, nearly all from the Latin poets. Its chief value lies in the fact that it was in this composition that Addison first found scope for that playful humour which ripened afterwards in his *Spectators*. It is not known why he kept the piece by him unpublished; possibly, as Miss Aikin suggests, he was distrustful of the soundness of some of his interpretations of the inscriptions on medals, or thought he had given the English public as large a dose of Latin poetry in his ‘*Travels in Italy*’ as it could endure in a lifetime.

P 11, l 23 **Any oman orator or historian.**—This is a truly ridiculous criticism of Macaulay’s. In his eagerness to prove his point he loses sight of the obvious fact that the very form of the ‘*Dialogues on Medals*’ precludes prose quotations; for in conversations between friends it is only poetry, for the most part learnt by heart in youth and thus retained in the memory, that is or can be quoted. No man carries about with him passages of any ‘orator or historian’ which he can reproduce at will, though he might have a general recollection of

their purport. But in Dialogue iii. there is an allusion to Cicero's observation on the plane-tree, and the speaker proceeds to give the gist of it as one would in talk

P 11, ll 24, 25 **of a line . . . any Greek writer.**—Even this statement is not by any means accurate, for he quotes Aristotle's dictum that 'the round figure is the most perfect,' and a long passage from Hesiod (*named*) in Ausonius's Latin version, not to speak of allusions such as that to Homer's comparison of Astyanax to 'the morning-star,' to his description of a sceptre in the 'Iliad,' and to Plutarch's discourse on Homer. Possibly Macaulay glanced through the pages of the treatise to see whether there was a Greek quotation, and, seeing no Greek characters, rashly assumed that there was no quotation. That Addison *had* plenty of Greek quotations in his armoury, but deliberately refrained from using them, might have been inferred by any intelligent and attentive reader from the following passage in the first dialogue in which Philander (Addison himself) is the speaker: 'I took occasion to buy up many imperial medals that have any affinity with passages of the ancient poets. So that I have by me a sort of poetical cash, which I fancy I count over to you in Latin and Greek verse. If you will drink a dish of tea with me to-morrow morning, I will lay my whole collection before you'

P 11, l 32. **ssay on the Evidences of Christianity.**—This work was first published in 1721, two years after Addison's death. It occupied the closing years of his life, and he is said to have collected a large amount of material for it which he had not had time to digest. It is, therefore, unfair to treat it as a finished work. As it stands, it is fragmentary and superficial, but it shows a well-planned design. Had he lived, he would without doubt have enlarged the treatise and revised it extensively.

P. 11, l 37 **ropes his way fro blunder to blunder.**—There is some learning, much good sense and sound argument, and a good deal of research in the treatise, to speak of it as simply a tissue of blunders is a gross exaggeration.

P. 13, l 2 **The Cock-Lane ghost.**—In this obscure lane between Newgate Street and Smithfield an extraordinary imposture was carried on from January to July 1762. The fraud was organised by a man named Parsons, clerk of St. Sepulchre's Church, to revenge himself upon a late lodger. He instigated his daughter, an artful child of eleven, to produce mysterious rappings, which were attributed by the credulous to a ghost. The house was soon besieged with visitors, aristocratic and other, including such personages as the Duke of York, Lord Hertford, Horace Walpole, and even Dr Johnson. The girl was at length detected, and the principal actors in the fraud were punished. An entertaining account of the imposture may be found in vol. ii. of Thornbury's 'Old and New London.'

P. 13, l 3. **As rank as Ireland's Vortigern.**—As unmitigated as Ireland's attempt to pass off his drama 'Vortigern' as the work of

Shakespeare. William Henry Ireland (1777-1835) perpetrated a series of literary frauds by producing a succession of documents, the MSS of which he professed to have discovered in Shakespeare's handwriting. He deceived some of the greatest scholars and critics of the day, and 'Vortigern' was actually produced at Drury Lane Theatre by John Kemble, with Mrs Jordan as the heroine, Rowena. He was at length compelled to admit the deception, in his two volumes, 'The Authentic Account of the Shakespeare Manuscripts' (1796) and 'Confessions' (1805), he gave a full account of the fraud. 'Vortigern' was published in 1832.

P 13, l 4—**The lie about the Thundering Legion.**—The story ran that when the Roman emperor Marcus Aurelius was engaged in a campaign against a Germanic tribe, the Marcomanni, and their allies the Quadi, in the year A.D. 174, and his army was entangled in a defile and suffering for want of water, the prayers of some Christian soldiers of the twelfth legion were answered by a storm which discomfited the enemy and relieved the parched Romans, hence the name. But it has been shown that the legion, which was stationed at Melitene on the Euphrates, was so called because the soldiers bore a representation of lightning on their shields, and that the name appears in an inscription which was written as early as Nero's time, and may even date back to the reign of Augustus. Addison, however, adopts the story as genuine both in this work and in his 'Treatise on Medals,' when he is discussing 'the figure of Jupiter Pluvius sending down rain on the fainting army of Marcus Aurelius,' which is one of the sculptures on Antonine's column at Rome, he adds, 'which is the greatest confirmation possible of the story of the Christian legion, and will be a standing evidence for it, when any passage in an old author may be supposed to be forged.' On this argument Greene dryly remarks: 'It proves the storm unquestionably, but the story of the thundering legion had been rejected by the best critics even in Addison's day.' Gibbon, chap. xvi., caustically remarks on the strange ingratitude of 'monuments of brass and marble, of the Imperial medals, and of the Antonine column, which ascribe their deliverance to the providence of Jupiter and to the interposition of Mercury.' It may be added that the true name of the legion was neither 'Tonans,' thundering, nor 'Fulminans,' lightning, but 'Fulminata,' in the sense 'armed with lightning.'

P. 13, l. 4. **That Tiberius . . . among the gods.**—Addison quotes Tertullian (A.D. 160-240), the Christian apologist, who in his 'Apology' says that 'the emperor Tiberius having received an account out of Palestine in Syria of the Divine Person, who had appeared in that country, paid him a particular regard . . . nay, the emperor would have adopted him among the deities whom they worshipped, had not the senate refused to come into his proposal.' Tertullian got the story of Pontius Pilate's letter to Tiberius and the sequel from an earlier apologist, Justin Martyr, who was condemned to death and beheaded in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, A.D. 165. The story bears evidence of its absurdity on the face of it, and it is surprising that Addison accepted

it. Gibbon scathingly exposes the improbabilities involved in the suppositions that Pontius Pilate risked martyrdom, without acquiring the merit of it, that Tiberius, who despised all religions, 'conceived the design of placing the Jewish Messiah among the gods of Rome'; 'that his servile senate ventured to disobey the commands of their master'; that Tiberius acquiesced, and contented himself with protecting the Christians from the severity of laws which had not yet been enacted, and 'that this extraordinary transaction was preserved in the most public and authentic records, which escaped the knowledge of the historians of Greece and Rome and were visible to the eyes of an African Christian, who composed his apology 160 years after the death of Tiberius'

P. 13, l 6 **The letter of Agbarus.**—Eusebius, the historian (A D 270-338), in his 'Ecclesiastical History,' I. i 13, produced two letters which he had found, written in Syriac, and translated them into Greek. The first purports to be a letter from Abgar Uchomo, King of Edessa in Mesopotamia, to Jesus Christ, inviting him to visit Edessa. The second is the answering letter in which Christ promised, after his ascension, to send one of his disciples to cure the king of his disease. The letters are admitted to be forgeries, the best modern opinion is that they were manufactured about A D 200. Addison does here go so far as to say 'though I will not insist on it,' but at the same time makes it clear that he accepted and believed the story. In a note Gibbon remarks. 'The evidence of the epistles is stated and rejected by the candid Lardner, "Heathen Testimonies," vol 1 pp 297-309. Among the herd of bigots who are forcibly driven from this convenient but untenable post I am ashamed to discover Mr Addison, an English gentleman, but his superficial tract on the Christian religion owes its credit to his name, his style, and the interested applause of our clergy' Nathaniel Lardner, to whom Gibbon here alludes, was a learned theologian (1684-1768) who devoted his life to researches on the evidences of Christianity. The tone of the passage and the sneer at the English clergy are characteristic of Gibbon, who wrote not merely with a bias but with a bitter animus against Christianity.

The form 'Agbarus,' which Macaulay gives, is incorrect, the name is 'Abgar,' or 'Abgarus' in Latin.

P. 13, l 14 **Herodotus**, the 'father' of Greek history, was born at Halicarnassus, on the coast of Caria in Asia Minor, in 484 B C, and died in 406. His subject was the origin and progress of the war between the Greeks and the Persians, which he carried down to the year 478. The narrative is, however, interspersed with many digressions, into the history of Croesus and the kingdom of Lydia, Cyrus's conquest of Lydia, the rise of the Persian monarchy, and the civilisation and antiquities of Egypt. He is the most truthful and trustworthy of historians, except where he is led astray by an excessive credulity, his style is simple, elegant, and extraordinarily vivid. Miss Aikin argued that Addison must have been a good Greek scholar because he was one of those who were invited to assist in a translation of Herodotus into

English Macaulay replies that two of his coadjutors were Boyle and Blackmore, and that neither of them was a Greek scholar. As to Boyle, however, see note on line 18, below

P 13, l 17 **Boyle**.—The Hon Charles Boyle (1676–1731), afterwards fourth Earl of Orrery, published in 1695 a new edition of the ‘Letters of Phalaris’ It contained a short Latin life of Phalaris, the Greek text, with a Latin version, and some notes occupying about twelve pages. It was a slight work, and would have attracted no particular attention but for an unjustifiable attack in the preface on the famous scholar, Richard Bentley, which arose out of a misunderstanding about an ancient manuscript and for which Boyle ought to have apologised to Bentley, but did not Thus originated the famous Boyle-Bentley controversy, itself an offshoot of the dispute as to the comparative merits of ancient and modern learning, which commenced in France about 1688 and was taken up in England by Sir William Temple, champion of the ancients, in his ‘Essay on Ancient and Modern Learning’ (1692), and by William Wotton, champion of the moderns, in his ‘Reflections on Ancient and Modern Learning’ (1694) Temple had affirmed that ‘the oldest books we have are still in their kind the best,’ and had rashly cited in illustration the ‘Letters of Phalaris’ and ‘Æsop’s Fables’ In the second edition of his ‘Reflections’ (1697) Wotton called in Bentley to his aid, and the latter wrote a hastily composed essay on the ‘Epistles of Phalaris, Themistocles, Socrates, Euripides, and others, and the Fables of Æsop,’ which was printed at the end of the ‘Reflections’ Bentley replied roughly to Boyle’s discourteous reference and criticised Boyle’s ‘Phalaris’ with great severity Boyle and his Oxford friends replied in a pamphlet, ‘Examination of Dr Bentley’s Dissertation on the Epistles of Phalaris’ (1698), which was clever and effective, from the point of view of the wits, if not of the scholars Bentley closed the controversy, as far as scholars were concerned, by his crushing rejoinder, the ‘Dissertation on the Epistles of Phalaris’ (1699). In this he proved conclusively, ‘with infinite wit and humour’ as well as sound argument, that the so-called letters were a ‘rank forgery’ A lively and humorous account of the whole controversy has been given by Jebb in his ‘Bentley’ (‘English Men of Letters’ series) It will suffice here to explain that Phalaris was a legendary king of Agrigentum, a town on the south-west coast of Sicily, who is said to have died about B.C. 560 or 550, and that he had become a byword for cruelty throughout the Hellenic world through his practice of roasting refractory subjects to death in a brazen bull The ‘Letters’ were never heard of till about a thousand years after the reputed date of Phalaris’s death, and are written, as Jebb says, ‘in Attic Greek of that artificial kind which begins to appear about the time of Augustus.’ It is only fair to Boyle to add that he had never asserted the genuineness of the Letters in his ‘Phalaris’, on the contrary, he had expressly declared that there were some strong reasons for believing them to be spurious Macaulay has treated of the controversy in his essay on Sir William Temple (1838).

P. 13, l 17 **lack ore.**—Sir Richard Blackmore (1650–1729) was a physician, knighted by William III, and a copious writer of verse Cowper observes that, ‘though he shone in his “Creation,” he wrote more absurdities in verse than any writer of our country.’ He was the perpetual butt of Dryden, Pope, Gay, and other wits of his time.

P. 13, l 18 **The no mal author, &c.**—In the ‘Examination of Dr Bentley’s Dissertation’ he was largely assisted by the famous Jacobite, Francis Atterbury, afterwards Bishop of Rochester, and by two or three young students of Christ Church, Oxford. Boyle’s share in this work was admittedly small, but he asserted—and there is no ground for disbelieving his assertion—that his edition of ‘The Letters of Phalaris’ was entirely his own work. He was, indeed, a fair classical scholar for a young man of nineteen, by no means the ignoramus that Macaulay would have us believe. The ‘Examination,’ though deficient in learning and argument, was witty and specious, it had an enormous success, three editions of it appearing within a year and a half. It was nearly a century before the general public became aware that Bentley, not Boyle, was victor in the controversy.

P. 13, l 23 **Confounded an aphorism with an apophthegm.**—This is a little pedantic on Macaulay’s part, the distinction in meaning between the two words is not very broad. Etymologically the one is ‘a definition,’ the other ‘an utterance,’ but the ordinary sense of aphorism (Greek ἀφορισμός) is ‘a short precept or rule,’ while that of apophthegm (Greek ἀποφθεγμα) is ‘a terse pointed saying,’ thus the popular medical precept ‘Starve a fever, feed a cold’ is an aphorism, and the proverbial ‘More haste, less speed’ is an apophthegm. But in practice the words are often confounded, and it is to be feared that Macaulay would find us nearly all Blackmores at the present day.

P. 13, l 25 **Regale . . . false quantities.**—‘Regale’ is ironical for ‘entertain,’ Latin and Greek verse being based on ‘quantity’ (the length or shortness of each syllable of the words used), it is a great offence to the ear of a classical scholar to hear a ‘false quantity,’ i.e. a long syllable pronounced short or *vice versa*.

P. 13, l 31 See note above on ‘Boyle,’ line 17. **Richard Bentley** (1662–1742) was Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, a Doctor of Divinity, and the greatest classical scholar of his day. The account given in Jebb’s monograph of his Homeric struggle with the rebellious fellows of Trinity is interesting and entertaining.

P. 13, l 33 **The accomplishment, &c.**—I.e. writing Latin verses.

P. 14, l 3 **The aro eter and the owl’s Green.**—The two poems in Latin hexameters entitled ‘Barometri Descriptio’ and ‘Sphaeristerium,’ respectively. In the former the description of mercury is admirable. The latter describes the game of bowls and the behaviour of the excitable player with the sly humour so characteristic of Addison (See notes on l. 7 below, and on p. 21, l. 7, for Addison’s Latin poems).

P 14, l 5 **assertation . . . Phalaris.**—See note on ‘Boyle,’ p 13, l 17.

P. 14, l 6 **The hieroglyphics on an obelisk.**—Hieroglyphics, the sacred picture-writing of the ancient Egyptians; Greek *hieros*, sacred, and *gluphein*, to carve. Obelisk, a rectangular-shaped shaft or pillar, which is broad at the base and narrow at the top, usually surmounted by a pyramid-shaped apex. through French and Latin from Greek *obeliskos*, a spit, a pointed pillar.

P 14, l 7. **umbers**—Verse All but two are written in hexameters A little less ‘ease’ would occasionally have been an improvement, though admirably spirited and vigorous, the poems are, from the metrical point of view, too often disfigured by that worst of solecisms in a hexameter line, entire absence of cæsura, causing a line to fall into two exact halves: e g ,

‘Argentum male coctum, | divitiasque fluentes.’
‘Qua solis tepet ortu, | primitusque diei’

In the two poems written in the Alcaic stanza, addressed to Dr. Harnes and to the Rev. Thomas Burnet, respectively, the same fault, lack of cæsura, is repeated, with many other metrical faults and inelegancies, not to speak of a false quantity and of an incorrect grammatical form, both of which would have been underscored in a sixth form boy’s exercise.

P 14, l 9 **attle of the Cranes and Pyg ies.**—An imitation of the mock-heroic poem in Greek, formerly ascribed to Homer, ‘The Batrachomyomachia,’ or ‘Battle of the Frogs and Mice.’

P 14, ll 10, 11—I e in the *Spectator*

P 14, l 16 **Voyage to Lilliput.**—In ‘Gulliver’s Travels,’ where Swift brings his hero to the kingdom of the dwarfs or pyg ies. The author, Jonathan Swift (1667–1745), was, perhaps, at once the ablest and the unhappiest man of his day In character he was intensely proud, masterful, independent, passionate, secretive. For an account of his relations with Temple and his unhappy plunge into the ‘Battle of the Books’ Macaulay’s essay on Sir William Temple (1838) should be read As a writer he was remarkably original and excelled both in prose and in verse, in whatever style he attempted from playful humour to savage satire. Such is the simplicity of thought and diction in ‘Gulliver’s Travels’ and other prose works of his, that he is, perhaps, the only great English writer besides Bunyan who is absolutely intelligible even to a rustic, while he equals Bunyan in the life-likeness of the scenes which he brings before the mind’s eye ‘Il avait l’esprit créateur’ (he had the creative spirit), as a French critic truly said, in a remarkable degree He never obtained any higher preferment in the Church than the position of dean of St Patrick’s But for years he exercised enormous influence on politics both by his pen and through his close association with St. John, Harley, and other politicians, and it is hardly too much to say that, had he been a layman or had he lived in the earlier

days of priest-statesmen, he would have ruled England, just as in his later years he was the uncrowned king of Ireland See note on p 77, l 15

P. 14, ll 23-27.

'Then stalked the Pygmy chief into the fray,
Tall, dignified, majestic, awe-inspiring,
Conspicuous he towers above the rest,
A giant, two and twenty inches high'

The 'touch' that Swift is supposed to have 'borrowed' from Addison is contained in the second half of the last line The Latin 'mediam exsurgit in ulnam' signifies literally 'and rises up to half an ell in height,' an ell being a yard and a quarter, or forty-five inches. Considering the similarity of subject, there is a great deal of difference between giving the absolute height, as Addison does, and the relative measure of height, as Swift does, and Macaulay's conjecture may be dismissed as very improbable, in view of Swift's well-known independence and originality of thought and his habit of particularity in the touches by which he makes his romances seem everyday probabilities

P 14, l 29 **The coffee-houses, &c.**—The first coffee-house opened in England was Jacob's at Oxford, in 1650, and the earliest London coffee-house was the Greek Pasqua Rosee's in St Michael's Alley, Cornhill, established in 1652 The chief places of resort for men of fashion at this period were the coffee and chocolate-houses, in which many men lived much as they do at their clubs at the present day, and several of the old coffee and chocolate-houses, such as White's and the Cocoa-tree, were converted into clubs when the transition came. Every coffee-house had its specialty, the four most fashionable in Queen Anne's reign being the St James's, the Smyrna, Mrs. Rochford's, and the British Thus Whigs frequented the Smyrna and the St James's, Tories Ozinda's and the Cocoa-tree, Scotsmen favoured the British and Forrest's, Frenchmen assembled at Giles's or Old Slaughter's, lawyers met at Nando's or the Grecian. parsons at Truby's or Child's, soldiers at the Old or Young Man's, citizens at Garraway's or Jonathan's; White's was the headquarters of gambling, the leading wits foregathered at Will's, Button's, or Tom's Coffee-houses were remarkably cheap A penny secured entrance, and a dish of tea or coffee cost but twopence, the charge including the use of newspapers and lights. At most of them regular frequenters had seats reserved for them by custom and courtesy, and at all but a very few houses smoking was indulged in. A very full and detailed account of them is given in the second volume of Timbs's 'Club Life in London,' of part of which this is an abstract

P. 14, l 30. **Drury Lane theatre.**—Originally a cock-pit, Drury Lane became a theatre in the reign of James I Among the many famous actors and actresses connected with this theatre were Nell Gwynn, Garrick, Mrs Siddons, Kemble, the two Keans, Madame Vestris, and Macready. Will's, Button's, and the Bedford, the Piazza, and Tom King's were all in the neighbourhood of this theatre, in Covent Garden

P 14, 1 32 **Dryden**.—John Dryden (1631–1701), poet-laureate, satirist, and dramatist ‘Not a great poet, in the narrowest definition,’ says Lowell ‘But he was a strong thinker, who sometimes carried common sense to a diviner air and warmed reason till it had wellnigh the illuminating property of intuition . . . He has beyond most the gift of the right word’ His ode, ‘Alexander’s Feast,’ his satires, ‘Absalom and Achitophel,’ ‘The Medal,’ and ‘MacFlecknoe,’ and his dramas, ‘The Conquest of Granada’ and ‘The Spanish Friar,’ are, perhaps, his best remembered works In prose, too, he proved himself one of the great masters of the English language His political and religious views underwent considerable changes He was a republican in Cromwell’s time, a vehement royalist through the Stuart reigns, a Protestant and a member of the Church of England till the age of 54, he became a Roman Catholic on the accession of James II His most serious ‘reverse’ was the Revolution, which deprived him of all his official emoluments and reduced him to writing for his bread For the last ten years of his life he was the unchallenged literary dictator and had his ‘temple’ at Will’s coffee-house.

The complimentary lines of Addison were scarcely worthy either of himself or of Dryden He talks sheer nonsense about Dryden’s translation ‘heightening Virgil’s majesty,’ and is less complimentary than he intended when, speaking of the translation of Horace, he says, ‘And Horace wonders at himself in thee’—as indeed he might well do, Juvenal is ‘instructed in Dryden’s page,’ ‘Edges his satire and improves his rage’ These are absurdities unworthy of a scholar of two-and-twenty As to the verse, it is sufficient to say that his poetical vice of bad rhyming is here at its worst: in a poem of only eighteen couplets he rhymes ‘wrote’ and ‘thought,’ ‘song’ and ‘tongue,’ ‘gods’ and ‘woods,’ ‘limbs’ and ‘streams,’ ‘reveal’ and ‘tell,’ not to speak of ‘all’ coupled with ‘original’—a collection which E B Browning, in her most wilful mood, could hardly have improved upon The solecism of introducing an isolated Alexandrine, or twelve-syllabled line, is in imitation of the bad habit of Dryden and is probably meant as a compliment to him It had been better for Addison’s fame if this juvenile production had not been preserved.

P 15, 1 1 **Good offices**.—In one of the senses of the Latin *officium*, a voluntary kindness, favour, courtesy

P 15, 1 2 **Congreve**.—See p 4, 1 19, note

P 15, 1 3 **Charles Montague**.—Charles Montague (1661–1715), the originator of the National Debt and of the Bank of England, an eminent statesman and financier, succeeded Godolphin as Prime Minister in 1697, was created Baron Halifax in 1700, and Earl of Halifax in 1714, when he was again Prime Minister He was known as ‘the trimmer’, a prominent Whig and supporter of William III, he became a Tory in the reign of George I For his share of responsibility as Prime Minister in the secret negotiations between William and Louis XIV before and after the Peace of Ryswick, he was impeached in 1701, and again in 1703, but unsuccessfully He was associated with Prior in the parody

of Dryden's 'The Hind and the Panther,' which was entitled 'The Town and Country Mouse,' and published a poetical 'Epistle on the Battle of the Boyne'

P. 15, l 7. **The fourth eorgic.**—The last book of Vergil's poem on agriculture, that 'most complete embodiment of Roman industrial views,' as Cruttwell styles it, contains the science of bee-culture and the beautiful episodes of Aristæus and of Orpheus and Eurydice

P. 15, l 8. **The 'Lines to the King.'**—This poem contains almost as high a proportion of false rhymes and 'eye-rhymes' as the lines to Dryden, but it has fewer extravagances and absurdities and has some just and dignified verses on the motive of William's wars:

'His toils for no ignoble ends design'd,
Promote the common welfare of mankind.
No wild ambition moves, but Europe's fears,
The cries of orphans, and the widow's tears;
Opprest religion gives the first alarms,
And injur'd justice sets him in his arms,
His conquests freedom to the world afford,
And nations bless the labours of his sword'

P. 15, l. 12 **The ewdigate . . . or the Seatonian.**—The annual prize for English verse given at Oxford was founded by Sir Roger Newdgate, 1719-1806. The Rev Thomas Seaton, Fellow of Clare Hall, bequeathed to the University of Cambridge a sum of £40 a year at his death in 1741 for a prize for English verse on a sacred subject

P. 15, l 13 **The heroic couplet.**—Rhymed pairs of lines, each of which is an iambic pentameter, i.e. a line containing five feet, based on the iambus. The iambus consists of a short syllable followed by a long one, or, in English verse, an unaccented syllable followed by an accented

P. 15, l 17. **istich.**—A couplet, from Greek *distichon*, having two rows, through a late Latin word

P. 15, l. 22 **Pope.**—Alexander Pope (1688-1744), poet and satirist. His best remembered works are 'The Rape of the Lock' (his best poem), the 'Essay on Man,' his translation of Homer—best described by an adaptation of Addison's line on Dryden, 'And Homer wonders at himself in thee'—and his 'Satires' and 'Dunciad'. He had, like Ovid, the highest degree of *facility* in verse. As a satirist he was pointed, witty, and extraordinarily malignant. He was a Roman Catholic, son of a rich linen-draper, and was slight and deformed in person. He lived in close association with Swift and the Tory group of statesmen and wits. In character he was vain, envious, revengeful, a master of base intrigue and dissimulation, almost his only virtue was his filial piety, and even this he profaned by vulgar self-eulogy. He has been called courageous, but his courage was only that of the 'moonlighter' shooting his landlord from behind a wall. He has been

praised for steadfastness in friendship; but he behaved with base treachery to his two best friends, Swift and Bolingbroke

P. 15, l. 24 is **Pastorals**.—An early work, written in 1704 and published in 1709, graceful and elegant, but highly artificial. His ideal was 'nature to advantage dress'd,' and he proceeded to 'dress' her according to the taste and sentiment of the world of fashion in an age which found Spenser's poetry the product of 'a barbarous age, uncultivate and rude.' The effect produced was much as if M. Worth, prince of man-milliners, had clothed the Venus of Milo in one of his latest 'creations.' His work is as far removed from Theocritus or Vergil, as the Dresden china shepherds and shepherdesses are from actual rustics

P. 15, l. 25 **y rule and eo pass.**—I.e. a matter of purely mechanical construction

P. 15, l. 27 **l deder on.**—Hit on by a lucky accident

P. 15, l. 31 **ochester . . . arvel . . . Oldha**.—John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester (1648–1680), was one of the wittiest and most profligate courtiers of Charles II's court. He wrote a poem, 'On Nothing,' and nothing has survived of it

Andrew arvell (1620–1678)—Best remembered for his dignified poem, 'Cromwell's Return from Ireland,' and for his exquisite 'Thoughts in a Garden.' 'Some of his poems,' says Hazlitt, 'are harsh as the words of Mercury, others musical as is Apollo's lute.' He was assistant to Milton, when the latter was Latin secretary to Cromwell, and represented his native place, Hull, after the Restoration. He remained true to the Puritan cause, which he supported with witty satirical poems and prose tracts. He was a man of inflexible integrity and independence, as well as a wit, and was worthy of being an intimate friend of Milton

John Oldha (1653–1683)—A satirical poet whom his contemporaries flattered with the title of the 'English Juvenal.' Hallam ranks him next to Dryden of the Caroline poets, but he is clean forgotten as a dead man out of mind

P. 15, l. 33. **en Jonson** (poet-laureate and dramatist, 1574–1637) was a contemporary and friend of Shakespeare, best remembered for his song 'Drink to me only with thine eyes,' his lines on Shakespeare, and his comedies, 'Every Man in his Humour,' 'Volpone,' 'Epicoene,' and 'The Alchemist.' He was one of the famous group of wits that haunted the 'Mermaid Tavern,' but was one of the poets who are made, not born.

P. 15, l. 33. **John oole** (1727–1803) translated Ariosto, Tasso, and Metastasio, and wrote 'Memorials of Dr Johnson'

P. 15, l. 35 **ecasyllable verse**.—Lines of ten syllables. See note on 'the heroic couplet' above, line 13

P. 15, l. 36. **Well turned**.—Neat, workmanlike.

P 16, l 1 *r. runel's ill.*—Sir Isambard Brunel (1769–1849), the eminent engineer and constructor of the Thames Tunnel, invented a method of turning out blocks for ships by machinery. Blocks are grooved pulleys mounted in a shell, which is furnished with a hook or strap; they are used for transmitting power or changing the direction of movement of the object which is being raised or moved.

P 16, l 5, &c *Vergil, Æneid, iv* 178 —Part of the famous description of 'Rumour'. The 'giant-race' were the earth-born monsters who, according to classical mythology, made war upon Zeus, or Jupiter, and the other Olympian gods.

P 16, l 15 *Jagged isshapen distichs.*—Rough and hideous couplets.

P 16, l 18. *Tasso.*—Torquato Tasso (1544–1595), Italian epic poet, author of the poem on the recovery of Jerusalem from the Saracens, which was entitled '*Gerusalemme Liberata*,' an epic in twenty-four books, of '*Rinaldo*,' a poem, of '*Aminta*,' a pastoral drama, and of a number of poems addressed to Eleanora, sister of Alfonso, Duke of Ferrara.

P 16, l 26 *A glut.*—A commercial metaphor, 'when the market is overstocked with a particular commodity, there is said to be a 'glut' of it. Through old French *glot* from old Italian *ghotto*, a glutton.

P 16, l 31 *The dark ages.*—The centuries between the final collapse of the Roman Empire of the West in A.D. 476 and the revival of learning at the Renaissance which began with Dante in Italy and was completed by the fall of Constantinople in 1453, which brought numerous scholars into Europe who revived the knowledge of Greek literature.

P 16, l 32. *Clerk.*—Scholar, man of letters, originally an ecclesiastic. Chaucer's undergraduate was 'A clerk of Oxenford,' and in the 'Reeve's Tale' he says 'The greatest clerkes ben not wisest men.'

P 16, l 33 *Duke, Stepney, Granville, Walsh.*—*Richard Duke* (1655–1711), divine and poet, *George Stepney* (1663–1707), English envoy at the court of Vienna, where Addison met and formed an enduring friendship with him; *William Walsh* (1663–1709), and *George Granville*, poet and dramatist, were all second-rate rhymers, of whom Granville, Lord Lansdowne, was perhaps the best.

P 18, l 6 *Preface to the Georgics.*—Dr Johnson stigmatised it as 'juvenile, superficial, and unstructive, without much either of the scholar's learning or the critic's penetration.' This is somewhat harsh and unfair criticism. The preface was not meant to instruct scholars, but to inform ordinary English readers in a popular style. Addison's critical remarks, if not weighty or learned, are judicious, and the style is elegant.

P 18, l 13. *Ingenious.*—An overworked adjective of the period which corresponds to our use of 'talented'. When Robert Lowe, afterwards Lord Sherbrooke, set himself to heal a schism between the Tory and the Whig members of the Oxford Union, he restored good

humour by means of a mock-heroic poem entitled 'Umiomachia,' or 'The battle of the Union,' to which was appended an English translation 'After the manner of the late ingenious Mr. Alexander Pope.'

P 18, l 13 **is bees**.—An allusion to the subject of the fourth Georgic. See note on p 15, l 7

P. 18, ll 19, 20 **Large ecclesiastical prefer ent**.—I.e. the right of presentation to a number of Church of England benefices

P 18, l 23 **Fro so e expressions, &c.**.—In his 'Account of the Greatest English Poets,' addressed to Henry Sacheverell in 1694, he writes

'and now, dear friend, receive
The last poor present that my muse can give
I leave the arts of poetry and verse
To them that practise 'em with more success
Of greater truths I'll now prepare to tell'

P 18, l 29 **orset or rochester**.—Charles Sackville, Earl of Dorset (1637-1706), wrote a handful of songs and short satires in verse. Pope said justly of Dorset and Rochester 'that they should be considered as holiday writers, as gentlemen that diverted themselves now and then with poetry, rather than as poets.' For Rochester, see note on p. 15, l 31

P. 18, l 32 **asselas**.—A prose romance written by Dr Johnson in 1759, and severely criticised by Macaulay in another essay. Dr Samuel Johnson (1709-1784), author of the famous dictionary, has been immortalised by Boswell's biography more than through his own works, varied and extensive as they were. After a terrible struggle against poverty and neglect, he won his way to the position of the acknowledged monarch of English letters, the next in succession to Dryden, Addison, and Pope. His two poems, 'London Bridge' and 'The Vanity of Human Wishes,' are now his best-known works. See notes on p 22, l 37, and p 23, l 1. This illustration is in Macaulay's happiest vein.

P. 19, l 4 **A lower and grosser ele ent**.—I.e. politics.

P. 19, l 15 **So ers**.—John, Lord Somers (1652-1716), was a distinguished lawyer and statesman and an ardent Whig. He was a junior counsel, but the life and soul of the defence, at the trial of the seven bishops, and a leading promoter of the Revolution. He became Lord Chancellor, with the title of Lord Somers, Baron Evesham, in 1695. He was the author of the plan for the union of England and Scotland, his most valuable work as a statesman. In 1701 he shared the impeachment of Montague and Russell. See note on p 79, l 15

P 19, l 20 **Censors**.—'Disorders in printing' were the cause of parliamentary interference as early as 1642. The censorship of the press was instituted under the Commonwealth in 1655, confirmed in 1693; but in 1695 the Licensing Act was allowed to lapse.

P 19, l 34. **evolution of July 1830.**—The revolution was directly caused by restrictions upon the liberty of the press and by a measure for reconstructing the Chamber of Deputies. Charles X, the last French king of the elder branch of the Bourbon family, fled from Paris, abdicated, and retired into exile in England. The Duke of Orleans was crowned in his stead as Louis Philippe I.

P 19, l 36 **At the present o ent.**—Macaulay was writing in 1843

P. 20, l 1 **François Guizot** (1787–1874), the well-known French historian, became Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1840, and remained in office till the Revolution of February 1848, when Louis Philippe was overthrown and a Republic proclaimed. **Louis Thiers**, journalist and historian, was Minister of the Interior in 1832, President of the Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1836, and again for a few months in 1840, after which date he was leader of the opposition. An exile during most of Napoleon III's reign, he came to the front again in the troubles of the Franco-Prussian War, signed the treaty of peace with the German Emperor on behalf of France, and was the first President of the re-established Republic.

P. 20, ll. 7, 8. **So ersets and Shrewsburies.**—No powerful territorial nobles like Charles Seymour, Duke of Somerset (1662–1748), one of the Whigs who supported William III., or Edward, Duke of Somerset, a prominent politician of Macaulay's day, or **Charles Talbot, Duke of Shrewsbury** (1660–1718), Lord Treasurer, Lord Chamberlain, Ambassador to France, and Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.

P. 20, l 8 **er Addisons and Priors.**—Her men of letters. For Prior, see note on p. 4, l 19.

P. 20, l 11 **oth the great chiefs, &c.**—Somers and Montague.

P. 20, ll 14, 15 **The ost polished and vigorous, &c.**—Macaulay alludes to the somewhat prosy dedication to Lord Somers of the 'Lines to the King' (see note on p. 15, l 8). To Montague he addressed the brilliant Latin poem 'On the Restoration of Peace to Europe under the Auspices of William' (1697), the peace of Ryswick which ended Louis XIV.'s war against England, Germany, Spain, and Holland, and compelled him to abandon the cause of James II. At a later date it was to Montague, his earliest and most beneficent patron, that he wrote his poetical 'Letter from Italy' (1701), the only poem of Addison's of any length in which his muse soared much above the ground. The lines which describe the misery and havoc caused by Louis XIV.'s wars are just in sentiment if not very vigorous in execution, the celebrated invocation to Liberty deserves much higher praise. Here the warmth of enthusiasm has kindled a genuine inspiration in lines which no lover of his country can read without emotion.

P. 20, l 18. **It should see .**—'Should' is here used, where in modern English we prefer 'might' or 'would,' to soften the directness of a statement or to indicate diffidence in making it. The sense is 'I am

inclined to think' But we still employ it in such phrases as 'I *should* think,' 'I *should* say' In Shakespeare there are very numerous passages in which 'should' fluctuates between this sense and the sense 'ought to' e.g. 'Tempest,' ii 2, 90. 'I *should* know that voice. it *should* be——' So in Ben Jonson's line:

'He is no surtor then ? So it *should* seem'

P. 20, l 19 **In the service of the crown abroad.**—That one of the chief objects, if not the principal object, of Addison's visit to the Continent was to learn French, appears from many passages of his letters from 1699 to 1702, in which he speaks of 'applying himself entirely to his business,' 'being embarrassed with nouns and verbs,' 'using all the application possible that might make him answer his (the Lord Chancellor's) expectations,' 'finding the French tongue a harder rub in his way than to get over the Alps,' and his hopes of soon being able to talk to the Secretary of the English Embassy at Paris 'in the language of the place.' The only employment of a diplomatic character in which Addison was ever engaged was the complimentary mission to invest the Elector of Hanover with the Order of the Garter, on which he accompanied Halifax in 1707, but he was waiting for some months at Geneva, in the winter of 1701-1702, expecting to receive an appointment to act as British agent in the camp of Prince Eugene.

P 20, l 20. **The French language.**—Formerly the almost universal medium of diplomatic communication and the language in which nearly all treaties were expressed French, in this respect, took the place occupied by Latin in the Dark and Middle Ages as the general means of interchanging thought among civilised men Even now, though the Germans refuse to employ it and the widespread knowledge of English—of a kind—has narrowed the domain of French, that language is still the most commonly employed in diplomacy. Thus, at the Congress of Berlin in 1878, a double-edged ribe was levelled at Lord Beaconsfield in the pages of *Punch*, which represented him at the door of the Congress Hall turning to his colleague, Lord Salisbury, to ask. 'By the way, what is the French for compromise?'

P 20, l 30. **ough.**—See note on p 7, l 30

P 20, l 34 **Liberal art and senti ent.**—I.e the culture and the ideas of a gentleman

P 20, l 35 **Pillaged.**—I.e robbed the country by drawing the salaries of offices for which they were unfit

P. 21, l 7 **is beloved Oxford.**—Although Addison devoted one of the eight Latin poems published in the second edition of the 'Musæ Anglicanæ' (England's Latin poems) in 1699 to a description of the altar-piece of Magdalen College chapel, a picture of the 'Resurrection of the Dead,' his allusions to Oxford in his writings are singularly rare Tickell, however, who was an intimate friend of Addison, in his lines

on 'Cato' uses an expression that implies the reciprocity of affectionate esteem between Addison and his University—*Thy Oxford* '.

'*Thy Oxford smiles this glorious work to see,
And fondly triumphs in a son like thee*'

P 21, l 11 **Charles, Earl of Manchester** (1660–1722?), was a grandson of the victor of Marston Moor, whose father, Sir Henry Montague, was first Earl of Manchester. He opposed James II and was a firm supporter of William III, whom he accompanied on his Irish campaign. He was English ambassador at Venice (1696), at Paris (1699), and at Vienna (1707). He became Secretary of State in 1701–1702, and was created a Duke by George I in 1719. Halifax was a grandson, and Charles, Earl of Manchester, a great-grandson, of Henry, the first Earl of Manchester. Addison met the Earl of Manchester at Paris, two of the Continental Letters are to him.

P 21, l 12 **The Countess**.—The beautiful Countess of Manchester was Dodington, daughter and co-heiress of Robert Greville, fourth Baron Brooke, she married the Earl in 1690. Her father belonged to the same family as the famous Sir Charles Fulk Greville of the days of Queen Elizabeth and James I.

P 21, l 13 **A toast**.—A noted beauty, whose health was often drunk by men of fashion. To 'toast' is to drink a person's health, and a 'toast' is a person whose health is drunk. The term is derived from the old custom of placing a small piece of toast on the surface of the wine. Cf Greene, 'Friar Bacon,' xv 35, 36, King's poem, 'The Toast,' and the note on the next line. Cf No 24 of the *Tatler* for an amusing story of the origin of this use of the word.

P. 21, l 16 **Some lively lines**

'While haughty Galia's dames that spread
O'er their pale cheeks an artful red,
Beheld this beauteous stranger there,
In native charms divinely fair,
Confusion in their looks they show'd,
And with unborrow'd blushes glow'd'

P 21, l 16 **The Kit Cat club**.—This was an aristocratic club formed by the great Whig leaders about 1699, and met originally at a house in Shire Lane, near Temple Bar, at the house of a vendor of mutton pies, Christopher Katt, after whom the pies were called 'Kit-Kats'. Cf Dr. William King, 'Art of Cookery' (1709)

'Immortal made as Kit-Kat by his pies'

A poem was addressed by Settle in 1699 'To the most renowned the President and the rest of the Knights of the most noble Order of the oast,' which probably refers to the Kit-Cat Club, as the club had its toasting-glasses inscribed with a verse or 'toast' to some reigning beauty. Cf. No. 24 of the *Tatler* 'When she is regularly chosen, her name is

written with a diamond on a drinking-glass' The notable bookseller, Tonson, was secretary of the club and the Earl of Manchester was president With the Whig nobleman were associated a number of wits, including Addison, Vanbrugh, Congreve, Garth, Steele, and Maynwaring A lively account of the club is given in the first volume of Timbs's 'Club Life in London'

P 21, l 19 **Versailles.**—The palace of Louis XIV at Versailles near Paris

P 21, l 20 **Louis XIV.** reigned from 1651 to 1715 He left only one legitimate child, but had a long series of mistresses, one of whom, Madame de Maintenon, he secretly married in 1684 as a proof of his late-found 'devotion'

P 21, l 22 **Servile literature.**—The great French men of letters of Louis XIV's reign, such as Corneille, Racine, Molière, La Fontaine, Bossuet, Fénelon, vied with one another in their flatteries of the 'Grand Monarque' Even Boileau stooped to servility in his writings, though he is said to have told Louis once to his face that he understood the art of governing but not that of writing poetry In his letter to Dr Newton from Blois, written in 1699, Addison remarks 'Devotion and loyalty are everywhere at their greatest height, but learning seems to run very low. . . Every book that comes out has some pages to show how much its argument conduces to the honour of the holy church', and in a letter to Halifax of the same year he says 'Dacier has been forced to prove his Plato a very good Christian before he ventures upon his translation, and has so far complied with the taste of the age, that his whole book is overrun with texts of scripture, and the notion of pre-existence, supposed to be stolen from two verses of the prophets. Nay, the humour is grown so universal that it is got among the poets, who are every day publishing lives of saints and legends in rhyme'

P 21, l 25 **racine.**—Jean Racine (1639–1699) was, next to Corneille, the greatest of the French tragic poets, his masterpiece being his 'Phèdre,' published in 1677 He was patronised by Madame de Maintenon and wrote for the two illustrious penitents his two dramas on sacred subjects, 'Esther' and 'Athalie,' the former of which was acted by the inmates of St Cyr, a home for poor girls of good family founded by Madame de Maintenon He was associated with Boileau in writing a history, never published, of the reign of Louis XIV, and a history of Port Royal, the institution at which he had himself been educated He was in high favour until two years before his death, when he incurred the displeasure of the king by drawing up a memorial on the best way of alleviating the miseries of the people, and was banished from the court.

P 21, l 26 **Dacier.**—André Dacier (1651–1722) was a critic and classical scholar, eminent in his own day, he translated into French, for the use of the dauphin, Horace, the 'Reflections of Marcus Aurelius,' Plato, Plutarch, and Epictetus, among other classical authors

P 21, l 27 **The Athanasian mysteries.**—I.e. the doctrine of the

Trinity, as set forth in the Athanasian Creed. Although connected with the name of Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria in the fourth century A D, it is probable that the creed, at least as we now have it, is of much later date, and that it belongs to the first half of the ninth century. It was directed against the heresy of Arius, who denied the divinity of Christ.

P 21, l 27 **Plato.**—The famous Greek philosopher and disciple of Socrates (B C 429–347). He was the founder of the Academic school of philosophy, so called from the grove of Academus at Athens in which he taught. He combined the thought of an exquisitely poetic dreamer with the ‘sweet reasonableness’ desired by Matthew Arnold and a charming ease and grace of style. He is, if not the most exact and logical, the most *stimulating* thinker of ancient Greece.

P 21, l 28 **A short but lively and graceful letter.**—See the extract quoted above in the note on line 22.

P 21, l 34 **lois.**—A very ancient town, which existed under the Roman Empire, and has played a not unimportant part in French history, the States-General met here on two occasions, and it was here that Henry, Duke of Guise, was assassinated in 1588. It is on the river Loire in the department of Loire-et-Cher, thirty-five miles south-west of Orleans.

P 22, l 1 **An Abbe.**—In Addison’s day an Abbé was usually (1) a person who enjoyed a part of the revenues of an abbey without any jurisdiction over the monks, and who might be either a churchman or a layman, or (2) one of a class of semi-ecclesiastics, who assumed the title for the sake of distinction, or in the hope of preferment to an abbey, such men were commonly employed as tutors to the sons of noblemen and gentlemen and were often learned in theology and the classics.

P 22, l 2 **Joseph Spence (1698–1768)**—Literary critic, now remembered only for his book of anecdotes about men of letters entitled ‘Observations, Anecdotes, and Characters of Books and Men,’ published 1820. He was a Doctor of Divinity, Professor of Poetry at Oxford (1728–1738), and of Modern History (1742), both offices probably sinecures, and prebendary of Durham Cathedral (1754). He was a friend of Pope’s through his ‘Dialogues on Pope’s Translation of the Odyssey,’ and a benefactor of struggling men of letters.

P 22, l 4 **Absence.**—I.e. absent-mindedness.

P 22, l 10 **The Guardian.**—A journal edited by Steele in 1713, which only appeared for 175 numbers, Addison contributed fifty-three essays to it.

P 22, l 17 **Hough.**—See note on p. 7, l. 30.

P 22, l 18 **albranche.**—Nicolas de Malebranche (1638–1715), French ecclesiastic and philosopher, a follower of Descartes. His best-known work, ‘An Investigation into the Nature of Truth’ (*De la Recherche de la Vérité*), was published in 1674.

P 22, l. 19. **oileau.**—Nicolas Boileau (1636–1711), was a celebrated French poet, satirist, and critic, best known for his ‘Satires’ and ‘Epistles,’ his ‘Art of Poetry,’ and his ‘Essay on Criticism,’ all imitated by Pope. See also note on p 21, l 22.

P 22, l. 20 **Newton.**—The illustrious mathematician and natural philosopher, Sir Isaac Newton (1642–1727). His greatest work, ‘The Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy,’ was published in 1687 and contained his theory of gravitation. He was elected to the Lucasian professorship of mathematics at Cambridge in 1669, successfully defended the privileges of the University against the attempted encroachments of James II, and was chosen to represent it in the Convention Parliament and again in 1701. In 1705 he was knighted by Queen Anne. He was a man of remarkable piety and modesty.

P 22, l. 21 **obbes.**—Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679), a celebrated utilitarian philosopher. His chief work, ‘Leviathan,’ published in 1651, was extraordinarily popular in its day, and Pepys, writing in 1688, grumbled that he had to pay three times the original price for a second-hand copy. Lord Clarendon replied to it in 1676. In politics he advocated absolute monarchy, he reduced religion to obedience to the laws, the soul to impalpable matter, and morality to enlightened self-interest.

P 22, l 27 **The Acade y.**—This famous association of forty French men of letters, the Immortals, as they are called, was instituted by Cardinal Richelieu in 1635. It is the arbiter of literary correctness and literary elegance. Matthew Arnold, lamenting the complete anarchy which prevails in England in this respect, used to advocate—not without cause—an English Academy to do for the English language what the Academy has done for French.

P 22, l 30. **Dryden.**—See note on p 14, l 32.

P 22, l. 34 **German literature.**—Until the Victorian era very few Englishmen had any knowledge of German literature. Thomas Carlyle and Matthew Arnold were among the most strenuous advocates of the study of the great German writers.

P 22, l 37 **Sir Joshua.**—Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723–1792) was an eminent English artist and something of a man of letters, as a portrait painter he has had few English artists to equal him, and, perhaps, none to excel him. He became president of the Royal Academy in 1768 and was knighted in the same year. He was one of the famous group of celebrities which included Dr Johnson, the leading spirit, Burke, Goldsmith, Fox, Adam Smith, Garrick, Boswell, Sir William Jones, Gibbon, and many others, who belonged to the Literary Club, founded in 1764 by Sir Joshua and Dr Johnson. This club was at first limited to twelve, afterwards to twenty members, in 1780 the limit was raised to forty. It met at first once a week, from 1772 every other Friday, originally at the Turk’s Head Coffee-house, Gerard Street, Soho, and after several migrations settled at the Thatched House Tavern in St James’s Street, it still exists under the designation of

the 'Johnson Club' Macaulay, who was himself a member of the club in later times, has described these gatherings in his essay on Croker's edition of Boswell's 'Life of Johnson' (1831)

P 23, l 1 **rs Thrale**.—Hester Lynch (1739–1821), who married first Mr Thrale in 1763, and, secondly, Signor Piozzi in 1784, was an intimate and lifelong friend of Dr Johnson, with whom she drank unnumbered cups of tea, and whom she celebrated after his death by her 'Anecdotes of Dr Johnson' (1786) and her 'Letters to and from the late Samuel Johnson.' She had a house at what was then the village of Streatham on the south side of the Thames between Clapham and Norwood, now a suburb of London. Here the doctor was always a welcome guest. She was a lady of literary tastes and wrote an account of her travels on the Continent and some poems.

P. 23, l 1 **Wieland**.—Christopher Martin Wieland (1733–1813), German scholar, poet, critic, and novelist. He has been called the 'Voltaire of Germany' on account of his versatility and alleged atheistic tendency. He was a friend of Goethe, who introduced him to the Grand Duke of Saxe-Weimar, and went to reside at Weimar in 1772, where he remained until his death.

P. 23, l 2. **Lessing**.—Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729–1781), German poet, critic, and general writer, was the author of 'Fables,' 'Letters on Literature,' 'Laocoon,' a treatise on sculpture, painting, and poetry, 'Dramaturgie,' a treatise on the art of the dramatist by which Shakespeare was first made really known in Germany, and of the tragedies, 'Minna von Barnhelm' and 'Nathan the Wise.' Coleridge was a great admirer and student of Lessing, who has also influenced Matthew Arnold, Carlyle, and other modern English writers. His aim was to arouse a new spirit in German literature, and he succeeded, he himself is one of the classics of Germany.

P 23, l. 3. **oileau**.—See note on p 22, l 19

P 23, l. 4. '**Paradise Lost**' and . . . '**Absalom and Achitophel**.'—Milton's '*Paradise Lost*' was published in 1667, Dryden's '*Absalom and Achitophel*' in 1681. This was a satire written at the command of Charles II, in which the '*Merry Monarch*' appears in the remarkable disguise of David, King of Israel, the Duke of Monmouth as Absalom, David's rebellious son, and Shaftesbury as Achitophel. See note on p 14, l. 32.

P 23, l 8 **Johnson**.—See note on p 18, l 32

P. 23, l 17 **Caustic**.—Severely critical, cutting; through French and Low Latin from Greek *kaustikos*, corrosive, *karein*, to burn.

P. 23, l 18 **That authority, &c.**—The power of Louis XIV.

P 23, l 24 **To turn sycophant**.—To become an obsequious flatterer. Sycophant comes through French and Low Latin from Greek *sukophantes*, a base informer, literally 'one who shows or declares figs,' i.e. an informer against any one who endeavours to export figs—a

practice forbidden in Attica by the laws of Solon, the explanation is the one given by ancient writers, but it is doubtful whether it is correct

P 23, l 31 **The Augustan age.**—The reign of the emperor Augustus His sole rule began from B C 31, when he defeated Marcus Antonius at Actium, but his reign is reckoned from B C 27, when he assumed the title of Augustus Cæsar, to his death in A D. 14 It was the great age of Roman literature, when Vergil, Horace, Ovid, Propertius, Tibullus, and Lavy flourished

P. 23, l 35 **Pollio.**—Caius Asinius Pollio, Roman orator, soldier, statesman, and man of letters (B C 76—A D 4) He was an intimate friend of Vergil and of Horace, both of whom eulogised him in their poems, and a generous patron of literary men and artists Quintilian says of his oratory 'In Asinius Pollio there is much invention, much, according to some, excessive, diligence, but he is so far from the brilliancy and sweetness of Cicero that he might be a generation earlier' (Cruttwell) But the gift of oratory was a dangerous one to exercise under the empire, and Pollio appeared but little in public life after his victory over the Dalmatians (A D 34), for which he obtained a triumph

P 23, l 36 **Idiom of the Po.**—Lavy (for whom see note on p 11, l 8) was a native of Padua, the Roman Patavium, in Venetia, a few miles west of Venice The river Po forms the southern boundary of this province Lavy's full name was Titus Lavius *Patavinus* (of Patavium)

P 24, l 1 **Frederick the Great**—one of the subjects of Thomas Carlyle's pen—was Frederick II, King of Prussia (1712–1786), who succeeded his father, Frederick William I, in 1740 In a series of wars of unscrupulous aggrandisement he raised Prussia from an insignificant kingdom into the dominant military Power of the Continent He dabbled in literature himself, and delighted to pose as the patron of men of letters, especially of distinguished Frenchmen, but his liberality of treatment was not on a par with his professions Macaulay gives an entertaining account of Frederick's relations with Voltaire and other foreign guests in his essay on Frederick the Great (1842)

P 24, l 9 **Erasmus and Fracastorius.**—Desiderius Erasmus (1467–1536) was born in Holland and was the greatest classical scholar of his age He was originally brought up as a monk, but disliked the monastic life and bitterly satirised the monks in his famous 'Colloquies', hence the saying that 'Erasmus laid the egg of the Reformation which Luther hatched' But, through timidity, he was untrue to his convictions and opposed Luther's reforms He visited England in 1497, and in 1510 he came again at the invitation of Henry VIII and was appointed Professor of Divinity and Greek lecturer at Cambridge, where 'Erasmus's Walk' at Queen's College is still shown He stayed with Sir Thomas More on his first arrival, and it was in More's house that he wrote 'Encomium Morie', 'Praise of Folly,' with a pun on More's name He wrote numerous works, all in Latin, on philological,

theological, and classical subjects, but his most valuable achievement was the printing in 1516 of the first 'New Testament' in Greek.

Fracastorius was the pen-name of *Geronimo Fracastore*, Italian physician, astronomer, and Latin poet (1483-1553).

P. 24, l 10 **Dr. Robertson and Sir Walter Scott.**—William Robertson (1721-1793), Scotch divine and historian, wrote histories of the reigns of Mary and of James VI of Scotland, and of Charles V, a history of America, and 'An Historical Disquisition concerning the knowledge which the Ancients had of India.'

Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832), novelist and poet, was the author of the famous *Waverley* novels, and the creator of the modern novel. In poetry he was one of the pioneers of the revolt from the classical to the romantic, but abandoned poetry for prose romance when his star paled before Byron's. His works are in themselves 'a liberal education.'

P. 24, l 12 '**Waverley**'... '**ar ion**.'—Scott's novel published in 1814 and his poem published in 1808.

P. 24, l 12 **Scotticisms.**—Scotch peculiarities of idiom and usage.

P. 24, l 15 **The noble *alcaics* of Gray.**—Latin poems written in the classical *alcaic* metre by Thomas Gray, of which the finest example is his poem on the 'Grande Chartreuse' (see note on p. 6, l 37). Gray was born in 1716 and died in 1771, and was the author of the famous 'Elegy written in a Country Church-yard.' He was a scholar and a man of varied learning, as well as a fine lyrical poet, partly from fastidiousness of taste, partly from indolence, he left behind him a much slenderer monument of his powers than his contemporaries, and posterity, have concurred in judging to have been due to them. *Alcaics* are so called from the reputed inventor of the metre, the Greek lyrical poet *Alcæus*, of Mitylene in the island of Lesbos, who flourished about 600 B.C. Tennyson's experimental *alcaics* in English, on Milton, will give some idea of it to those who cannot read Horace or the Greek lyricists.

P. 24, ll 15, 16. **The playful *elegiacs* of Vincent Bourne.**—Vincent Bourne (1697-1747) was a master at Westminster School, where he was tutor to Cowper, the poet. He published a volume entitled '*Poemata*' in 1734, and a volume of Latin poems, partly translations, partly original, in 1750. His collected works and letters appeared in 1808. Cowper writes of him: 'I love the memory of Vincy Bourne. I think him a better poet than Tibullus, Propertius, Ausonius, or any of the writers in this way, except Ovid, and not at all inferior to him.' The judgment is in amusing contrast with Macaulay's, but Cowper's view of his old master's work is seen through a haze of affectionate sentiment. Charles Lamb justly calls him 'most classical and, at the same time, most English of the Latinists' in his *Essays of Elia*, '*Complaint of the Decay of Beggars*,' and quotes one of Bourne's Latin poems, adding a translation of his own *Elegiacs*, a classical metre, are couplets consisting of an alternate hexameter and pentameter; so called owing to the employment of this metre for poetry written in honour of the dead—from Greek *elegos*, a song of mourning.

P 24, ll 19-23 'Do not imagine, however, that in saying so I mean to find fault with the Latin verses that you have sent me by one of your eminent university scholars I thought them very fine, and worthy of Vida and Sannazaro, but not of Horace and Vergil'

P 24, l 22 **Vida**.—Marco Girolamo Vida (1490-1567), Italian churchman and Latin poet. He was secretary to Pope Clement VIII, and attended the Council of Trent as Bishop of Alba, 1545-1563. He wrote Latin poems on the game of chess and on the art of poetry, and an epic in six books on the life of Christ.

P 24, l 22 **Sannazaro**.—Jacopo Sannazaro of Naples (1458-1530) wrote in Italian a description of rural life entitled 'Arcadia,' and numerous songs, madrigals, and sonnets, and in Latin several poems, of which the most celebrated was on the Virgin Mary and the birth of Christ.

P 24, l 26 **Fraguier**.—Claude François Fraguier (1666-1728), French Jesuit, scholar and moralist.

P 24, l 26 **Catullus**.—See note on p 8, l 31

P 24, ll 34-36

'Why once again, my Muse, dost bid me stammer
In Latin numbers, of Sigambrian sire
Me born far northward of the Alpine chain?'

The Sigambrians were a tribe that inhabited the northern half of what is now the Westphalian province of Prussia.

P 25, l 1 **Machinæ Gesticulantes**.—Puppets, marionettes, one of Addison's Latin poems published in the 'Musæ Anglicanæ,' in which he describes various kinds of puppet-shows, including 'Punch and Judy.' See notes on p 14, ll 9 and 23, for the 'Gerano-Pygmæomachia,' and on p 14, ll 3 and 7, and p 21, l 7, for remarks on the Latin poems.

P 25, l 2. **Opened himself**.—I.e. expressed his thoughts unreservedly.

P 25, l 16 **ombast and tinsel**.—*Bombast* is extravagant or inflated language, fustian, rant, literally 'stuffing' or 'padding,' from the original sense of the word, which is 'cotton' or the 'cotton-plant'. *Tinsel* signifies superficial glitter, tasteless ornaments of style—a figurative application of the original sense of the word, which signifies thin strips of some glittering metal, used to produce a glittering show cheaply. from French *étincelle*, Latin *scintilla*, a spark.

P 25, l 17 **Spectator . . . Guardian**.—See notes on p 64, l 3, and p 22, l 10.

P 25, l 22 **Charles, &c.**—Charles II of Spain, the last king of the house of Austria, died in 1700.

P 25, l 23 **Philip, duke of Anjou**.—He was the second son of Louis, the Dauphin or heir-apparent, who was the only legitimate son

of Louis XIV, and died in 1712, three years before his father Philip succeeded as Philip V of Spain in 1700, with the connivance of his grandfather

P 25, l 24 **Dauphin.**—Was originally the surname of the lords of the province called 'Dauphiné,' who bore on their crest three dolphins, in allusion to their name. The title, originally 'Dauphin of Viennois,' had been borne by the Counts of Viennois from the eleventh or twelfth century till 1349, when the last Count ceded his lordship to the king on condition that the title should always be preserved. The word comes through Old French *dolphin*, from Latin *delphinus*, a dolphin.

P 25, l 25 **His engagements, &c.**—Louis XIV had expressly renounced all claims for his descendants to the throne of Spain when he married Maria Theresa of Spain, and the renunciation had been ratified at the Treaty of the Pyrenees in 1659, and again by the Partition Treaty with England and Holland in 1698. See Macaulay's essay on the 'War of the Succession in Spain' (1833).

P 25, l 26 **States-General.**—The name given to the legislative assemblies of the Netherlands.

P 25, l 27 **House of Bourbon.**—The reigning family in France since the accession of Henri IV in 1589.

P 25, l 30 **Presaging the calamities, &c.**—They did not foresee the results of Louis' breach of faith, viz the disastrous War of the Spanish Succession, 1702-1713.

P 25, l 34-36 The passage is an extract from a letter addressed in the autumn of 1700 to Bishop Hough, which continues 'There is scarce a man in it that does not give himself greater airs upon it, and look as well pleased as if he had received some considerable advancement in his own fortunes.'

P 26, l 4 **Ligurian coast.**—The maritime province of Italy, which extends to Ventimiglia on the west and a little beyond Spezia on the east, was called Liguria, from a Celtic tribe that invaded North Italy B C 238, and gave the Romans considerable trouble. The whole coast from Nice to Spezia is now known as the Riviera.

P 26, l 6 **Solstice.**—The winter solstice is the time when the sun is farthest from the equator, so called because the sun apparently stands still in its southward motion—Latin *solstitium*, from *sol*, the sun, and *sisto*, I make to stand.

P 26, l 7 **lack storms.**—Cf Vergil, 'Georgics,' iii 278, 279, 'Æneid,' v 693-697; and Lucretius, vi 285, in the two last passages: 'atra tempestas,' a black storm, occurs. See note on line 13 below.

P 26, ll 8, 9 **Confessed himself to a capuchin.**—I.e. confessed his sins to a friar of the Capuchin order, who happened to be on board. The Capuchins, or begging friars, are an order of Franciscan monks founded in Italy in 1528, and are so named from the cowl or hood

which they wear, the 'capouch,' Italian *cappuccio*, Low Latin *caputium*, from Latin *caput*, the head

P 26, l 9 **The English heretic.**—I.e. Addison All Protestants are 'heretics' in the eyes of Roman Catholics

P 26, l 13 The ode was published in the *Spectator*, No 489, on September 20th 1712, and describes the storm which he encountered on his voyage in a sailing-boat between San Remo and Genoa See note on p 30, l 21 Macaulay's description is based partly on the ode and partly on a passage in Addison's 'Remarks on Italy,' which runs 'We were forced to lie in it' (the Gulf of Genoa) 'two days, and our captain thought his ship in so great danger, that he fell upon his knees and confessed himself to a capuchin who was on board with us But at last, taking the advantage of a side-wind, we were driven back in a few hours' time as far as Monaco Lucan has given us a description of the harbour that we found so very welcome to us, after the great danger we had escaped' Just above Addison translates a quotation from Horace about 'the ruffled ocean black with storms'

P 26, l 15 **Savona.**—Twenty-five miles south-west of Genoa At this period it still formed part of the territory of the Genoese Republic

P 26, l 18 **Genoa.**—Became a free state about 1000 A.D., and the house of Doria, mentioned below, came into prominence about the end of the thirteenth century The first Doge, or Duke, of Genoa was appointed in 1339 The city at times fell under the power of France, of Naples, of Milan, between 1396 and 1419, but regained its freedom after more than another century of struggle under Andrew Doria in 1528, and had maintained it up to Addison's days. The 'Book of Gold'—*Il Libro d'Oro*—was the name given to the register of nobles at Venice, and, if Macaulay is correct, at Genoa also But the existence of the institution at Genoa was unknown to any of the cultivated Italian gentlemen, including a Genoese, of whom I made inquiries

P 26, l 21 **Frescoes.**—*Fresco* is an Italian word meaning 'fresh.' Frescoes are wall-paintings—paintings on fresh plaster not yet dry. See note on l 23

P 26, l 22 **Temple of the Annunciation.**—The church called L'Annunciata was erected in 1587 in honour of the announcement of the angel to the Virgin Mary of the coming birth of Christ

P 26, l 23 **The long glories of the house of Doria.**—This seems to be an echo, unconscious perhaps, of Tennyson's line in his 'Morte d'Arthur,' published a year before Macaulay's essay.

'And the long glories of the winter moon'

For 'Doria' see note above on l 18 Addison mentions in his 'Travels' a room 'in the Duke of Doria's palace, that is hung with tapestry, in which are wrought the figures of the great persons that the family has produced, as perhaps there is no house in Europe that

can show a longer line of heroes, that have still acted for the good of their country' These frescoes were painted by a pupil of Raphael

P. 26, l. 24. *ilan*, in the centre of the Lombard plain, has a cathedral which is the grandest specimen of Gothic architecture now standing It is built of white marble, and is matchless in the number and delicacy of its carvings and statues. Cf Tennyson, 'The Daisy'

'O Milan, O the chanting quires,
The giant windows' blazon'd fires,
The height, the space, the gloom, the glory !
A mount of marble, a hundred spires !
I climbed the roofs at break of day,
Sun-smitten Alps before me lay
I stood among the silent statues,
And statued pinnacles, mute as they'

The so-called *Gothic* style of architecture, to which the name was at first contemptuously given by architects of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, has nothing to do with the Goths, and the term is a misnomer It is still used in England, however, to designate the various pointed types of architecture that prevailed in Europe from the twelfth century until the Italian Renaissance One of the main principles of *Gothic* building is that every part, even the ornamental, should have a constructive value It is one of the noblest types, and certainly the most *devotional* type of architecture

P 26, l. 26 *Lake ðnacus*.—The Latin name for the Lago di Garda, part of the eastern boundary of Lombardy, the river Mincio flows through it. 'It was so rough with tempests,' says Addison, 'when we passed by it, that it brought into my mind Virgil's noble description of it:

"teque
Fluctibus et fremitu assurgens, Benace, marino."

Here vex'd by winter storms Benacus raves

The lake perfectly resembles a sea when it is worked up by storms It is thirty-five miles in length, and twelve in breadth'

The passage quoted is from Vergil, 'Georgics,' n. 159, 160

P. 26, l. 28. *Venice*.—This famous city, at the north-western extremity of the Adriatic, is built on numerous small islands in a great lagoon formed by the retreating sea The great period of Venetian power and splendour was from the ninth to the sixteenth century; it was the maritime rival of Genoa, and contended with the latter for the trade of the East. The gaiety and dissipation of Venice are frequently alluded to by Shakespeare and other Elizabethan writers The Carnival, the festival celebrated in Roman Catholic countries during the last three days in Lent, ending on Shrove Tuesday, used to be nowhere observed with greater splendour than at Venice, but it has of late entirely lost its significance there.

P 26, l 30 — *asques . . . serenades*.—Masques are entertainments at which all the guests wear masks 'The great diversion of the place at that time,' Addison observes, 'is masking The Venetians, who are naturally grave, love to give into the folhes and entertainments of such seasons, when disguised in a false personage' Serenades are usually evening songs, especially those sung by a lover under a lady's window, but at Venice the term is commonly applied to open-air concerts, with illuminations, on the Grand Canal

P 27, l 3 *Cato*.—Marcus Portius Cato, of Utica, B C 95–46, the unbending Stoic and adversary of all attempts to overthrow the Roman republic When the struggle between Julius Cæsar and Pompeius began, he joined the latter The Pompeians were defeated at the battle of Thapsus, B C 46, and he committed suicide rather than fall into the hands of Cæsar 'Far more than the so-called "last of the Romans," Brutus and Cassius, he represented all that was best in the opposition to Cæsarism' (Pelham)

P. 27, l 4 *Scipio*.—Metellus Scipio was the father-in-law of Pompeius, had received a command in Macedonia, and had been present at the battle of Pharsala He was in command of the Pompeians at the battle of Thapsus

P. 27, l 6 *Plutarch . . . Tasso*.—A delightfully absurd combination For Plutarch see note on p 11, l 10; for Tasso, note on p 16, l 18, the former lived a century and a half, the latter more than sixteen centuries, after Cato.

P. 27, l 12 *Anachronis s.*—See preceding note

P 27, l 21 *San Marino*.—This quaint little state has an area of only twenty-one square miles and a population of some 10,000 It is situated at a height of some 2000 feet among the lower slopes of the Apennines, with a capital of the same name about twelve miles west of Rimini It is still an independent republic—principally because it has never been worth any sovereign's while to take it—after 1300 years' duration

P 27, ll. 26, 27. *With the exultation of a Whig, &c.*—Cf Addison's 'Letter from Italy'

'We envy not the warmer clime that lies
In ten degrees of more indulgent skies ,

'Tis liberty that crowns Britannia's isle,
And makes her barren rocks and her bleak mountains smile '

At the close of a very interesting account in his 'Travels' he notes - 'The people are esteemed very honest and rigorous in the execution of justice, and seem to live more happy and contented among their rocks and snows than others of the Italians do in the pleasantest valleys of the world Nothing, indeed, can be a greater instance of the natural love that mankind has for liberty, and of their aversion to an arbitrary

government, than such a savage mountain covered with people, and the Campagna of Rome, which lies in the same country, almost destitute of inhabitants' Rome was then ruled by the Popes, and the States of the Church suffered under a very rank kind of misgovernment But the Campagna, the surrounding swamp, was deserted owing to its unhealthiness mainly

P 27, l 33 **St. Peter's . . . the Pantheon.**—The great church of St. Peter is said to have been founded by the Emperor Constantine on the site of the circus of Nero, where St Peter is traditionally related to have been martyred The present church was commenced by Bramante under Pope Julius II in 1506, and completed in 1626 It is the most imposing church in Christendom, and has a dome of immense size, but beautifully proportioned, which was erected under the supervision of Michael Angelo Adjoining it is the Vatican palace, the residence of the Pope

The Pantheon is an ancient Roman building, the only one in Rome which is still in a perfect state of preservation It was built, as the inscription on the frieze still testifies, by Marcus Agrippa, son-in-law of the Emperor Augustus, B C 27, and was converted into a Christian church in 609 A D under the name of 'Sancta Maria ad Martyres' It is now known as 'Santa Maria Rotonda,' from its dome Since 1870, when Rome again became the capital of Italy, it has been the burying-place of her great dead, the 'Westminster Abbey of Rome'

P 27, l 34 **Holy Week.**—The last week before Easter Day, in which the passion and crucifixion of Christ are commemorated

P 27, l 36 **Why he chose to fly, &c.**—It does not appear difficult to understand why Addison avoided these gorgeous ceremonies In the first place, he was a convinced and fervent Protestant, and such persons did not, in those days at least, think it right to attend Roman Catholic services, and secondly, he was a State pensioner, known to be under the patronage of Lord Somers, and might not have thought it prudent to be present, even if his religious scruples had allowed him Macaulay suggests only the second and less probable reason What little Addison had seen of such ceremonies appears to have filled him only with disgust, as appears from a passage in his paper, No 201 of the *Spectator*. 'I have seen the Pope officiate at St Peter's, where, for two hours together, he was busied in putting on or off his different accoutrements, according to the different parts he was to act in them'

P 28, l 1 **Sensibility.**—Moral and æsthetic susceptibility is here meant, i.e. a capacity for refined emotion

P. 28, l 11 **The Appian Way.**—The old Roman highway constructed, 312 B C, during his censorship by Appius Claudius Cæcus, the stout old patrician and orator, who died about 278 B.C.

P. 28, l 12 **aples.**—The kingdom of Naples and Sicily was founded by the Normans in 1059 and passed by marriage to the Empire in 1194, a foreign ruler, Charles of Anjou, was imposed by the Pope in 1266 From 1435 the kingdom fell at various times under the rule

of France and of Spain, and at this period it was an appendage of the Crown of Spain. The capital, Naples, on the bay of that name, is one of the most beautifully situated cities in the world, and one of the most corrupt.

P 28, l 13. **The awful ounta'** .—Mount Vesuvius.

P 28, l 15 **Herculaneu** .—This ancient Roman city was burned by the lava from an eruption of Vesuvius, A D 79. The first discovery of it was made in 1711. Pompeii was overwhelmed in showers of ashes by the same catastrophe, the ruins are some seven or eight miles south of Naples, a little inland.

P. 28, l 16. **Pæstu**, now Pesto, was in Lucania. It is about forty-five miles south-east of Naples, at a short distance from the coast of the southern half of the bay of Salerno. It was originally a Greek colony, founded from Sybaris, B C 600, and called Poseidonia, the city of Poseidon or Neptune. The temples, which are the finest examples of Greek architecture extant outside Attica, are the great Temple of Neptune, the so-called 'Basilica,' an earlier and ruder work, and the Temple of Ceres.

P 28, l 20 **Salvator**.—Salvator Rosa, the Italian painter, poet, and musician, was born near Naples in 1615 and died in 1673. He was distinguished most as a landscape painter, his masterpiece is the 'Witch of Endor,' now in the Louvre Gallery at Paris. He delighted in scenes of gloomy grandeur, the following stanza in Tennyson's 'Palace of Art' was probably intended to describe one of his landscapes of this kind.

'And one a foreground black with stones and slugs,
Beyond, a line of heights, and higher
All barr'd with long white cloud the scornful crags,
And highest, snow and fire'

A fine specimen of his work, 'Mercury and the Woodman,' is in the National Gallery in London.

P. 28, l 21. **Vico**.—Giovanni Battista Vico (1688-1743) was a native of Naples and an original philosophic thinker. He had been appointed Professor of Rhetoric at the University of Naples in 1697, and held the post nearly forty years. His chief work was a philosophy of history entitled 'Principles of a New Science,' published in 1725, in which he anticipated in a remarkable manner some of the speculations of modern philosophers.

P 28, l 23 **Yucatan**.—The peninsula of Yucatan juts out into the Gulf of Mexico and defends the south-eastern portion of it. The ancient cities of Yucatan were described in a work published by the American traveller, John Lloyd Stephens, in 1842, which Macaulay, an omnivorous reader, had, no doubt, just perused.

P 28, l 25 **Posilipo**.—Monte Posilipo is the hill that bounds Naples on the west. The old grotto which Addison explored has been closed.

and replaced by a new one constructed in 1882-1885. It was excavated, probably, in the reign of Augustus, and is mentioned by Seneca and Petronius. Near it is the traditional tomb of Vergil, who had a villa on the hill, in which he composed the 'Georgics' and the 'Æneid'.

P. 28, l. 26 **Caprea.**—A small island, now called Capri, near the entrance of the lovely bay of Naples, about twenty miles from Naples. It was the favourite resort of the Roman emperor Tiberius, who resided there almost entirely during the later years of his reign. Cf. Juvenal, 'Sat.' x. 71, 93.

P. 28, l. 31 **Paralytic dotage.**—Sense decay. The kingdom of the Two Sicilies was an ancient one; see note above on line 12.

P. 28, l. 31. **Castile and Aragon.**—The two ancient monarchies united by the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella in 1469, which brought about the expulsion of the Moors from Granada and the union of all Spain under one Christian ruler. These two provinces are singled out here as peculiarly Spanish. It was from Navarre and Castile that the first movement came for throwing off the yoke of the Saracens at an earlier date.

P. 29, l. 1 **Jacobites.**—The partisans of James II were called Jacobites, from the Latin *Jacobus*, James, after the Revolution of 1688.

P. 29, l. 1. **The Freeholder, &c.**—This periodical, which appeared twice a week, was commenced by Addison in December 1715, and continued till the end of June 1716. It is the most elaborate of his political writings. It has been called a political *Spectator*. Its object was twofold—first, to support the Hanoverian succession and to condemn the recent rebellion, secondly, to recommend political moderation, and to show by example how effectively urbanity, aided by wit and humour, can take the place of vulgar and scurrilous abuse even in a partisan pamphlet. And that Addison carried out his ideas of moderation in his personal relations with political opponents we know both from the records of his intercourse with Swift and from the extraordinary esteem in which he was held by his Tory opponents generally. The *Freeholder*, though its politics are something staled by time, has such literary merit in some of the delineations that they are still read; of these the best are the papers which describe the Tory foxhunter. Even the Jacobite Dr. Johnson was moved to observe of them: 'In argument he had many equals but his humour was singular and matchless. Bigotry itself must be delighted with the Tory Foxhunter.' The papers are Nos. 22, 44, and 47 of the *Freeholder*.

P. 29, l. 3 **Passive obedience.**—The doctrine of the extreme Tories and High Churchmen, that all resistance to a lawful sovereign was impious, because he ruled by divine right. See note on p. 42, l. 37.

P. 29, l. 6 **Felucca.**—An Italian word signifying a long, narrow, undecked vessel, with two sloping masts and benches for sixteen to twenty-four oarsmen, there is an awning or shelter for passengers at the stern.

P 29, l 6. **Headland, &c.**—Misenum, now the 'Punta di Miseno,' is a promontory nine miles south-west of Naples. It was said to have derived its name from the trumpeter of Æneas, who was drowned there, according to the story which Vergil relates ('Æneid,' vi 162-175), in lines 232, 233 of the same book the placing of the oar and trumpet on the tomb of the dead Misenus is narrated.

P 29, ll 8, 9 **Pro ontory of Circe.**—The town and promontory in Latium were both named Circei by the Romans, the latter is now called Monte Circeo. It rises abruptly from the sea to a height of 1800 feet, and forms the north-western arm of a wide bay which extends south-eastward almost to the point where the bay of Naples begins. Circe, daughter of the Sun, the evil witch who transformed men into beasts, was said to have taken refuge at this spot after her flight from Colchus on account of the murder of her husband. hence 'fabled' Cf. Vergil, 'Æneid,' vii. 10-25.

P 29, l 10 **ark verdure . . . turbid, &c.**—The allusion is to Vergil's lines just below in the same book, 29-32 and 36:

'And now Æneas from the sea beholds
A forest wide, wherethrough the pleasant stream
Of Tiber, laden with his golden sand,
In whirling eddies plunges to the deep'

P 29, l 12 **Ostia.**—The ancient port of Rome was at the mouth of the Tiber, about fifteen miles from Rome.

P 29, l 13 **Hot and sickly onths.**—August and September were so unhealthy at Rome that all who could do so avoided the city at that season. References to the mortality at Rome in autumn are frequent in Horace and Juvenal. Cf. Horace 'Odes,' ii 14, 15, iii 23, 8; 'Satires,' ii 6, 18, 'Epistles,' I viii 3-10, and I xvi 15, Juvenal, 'Satires,' iv. 56, vi. 517, x. 221.

P 29, l 15 **ad dogs, &c.**—The picture is pieced together from passages of Horace. The 'mad dog' comes from 'Epistles,' ii. 2, 75, though there is nothing in that epistle to indicate that Horace was writing in autumn, and the dog-days, rather than August and September, were the period when rabid dogs were prevalent, the 'funerals' come from 'Epistles,' i 7, 6, and ii. 2, 74; the 'first figs of the season,' from 'Epistle,' i 7, 5.

P. 29, ll 18, 19 **To breathe unhurt tainted air**—From Addison's 'Divine Ode,' for which see note on p 26, l 13. The stanza runs:

'In foreign realms and lands remote,
Supported by thy care,
Through burning climes I passed unhurt,
And breath'd in tainted air'

P 29, l 22. **The asterpieces of ancient and modern art.**—E.g. the famous Greek statues in the Vatican, the Apollo Belvedere, the Laocöon

group, the torso of Hercules, and the two statues of athletes, the Discobolus and the Apoxyomenus, and the pictures of Raphael, his frescoes, known as the 'Stanze,' in the papal apartments, and his ceiling paintings in the Sistine Chapel of the Vatican

P 29, l 25 **Sienna.**—Thirty miles south of Florence, a very ancient city The cathedral, which is of marble, is said to stand on the site of a temple of Minerva, it was begun early in the thirteenth century and completed in 1380.

P 29, l 27 **Shrewsbury.**—See note on p 20, l 8 He was at first a Tory, but not a Jacobite But although at one time he, like Lord Clarendon and others, had favoured a plan for driving William from the throne in favour of Anne, he became in later life a firm adherent of the Hanoverian succession, and as President of the Council in 1714 was mainly instrumental in securing it, being nominated Lord Treasurer by the Council and accepted by the dying Queen At the time when Addison visited him, the Duke's sentiments were probably those of many thousands of Englishmen who, while determined not to have King James—and Romanism—again at any price, desired to be ruled by a sovereign who could speak and understand their language But Macaulay was such a thorough paced Whig, that he was incapable of understanding and appreciating the naturalness of such a position

P 30, l 2 **The sculptures in the Museum.**—The most celebrated of these are the statues in the octagonal room, styled the 'Tribuna,' of the Uffizi Palace, the Satyr playing on the cymbal, the group of the Wrestlers, the Medici Venus, and the Scythian whetting his knife to slay Marsyas, and in the Pitti Gallery the famous Niobe group, which is thought to be a Roman copy of the group designed either by Scopas or by Praxiteles in the fourth century B C. Of these, Addison mentions only 'the Venus of Medici's' Macaulay is inaccurate in saying that Addison preferred the sculptures of Florence to those of the Vatican, all that he says is. 'Florence, for modern statues, I think, excels even Rome.'

P 30, l 4 **The ravages of the last war.**—Northern and North-Western Italy, the provinces of Lombardy and Piedmont, had suffered cruelly from the troops of Louis XIV after Marshal Catinat's victory over the imperial army commanded by Prince Eugene and the Duke of Savoy at Marsaglia, in Piedmont, October 1693

P 30, l 6 **A still fiercer conflict.**—The War of the Spanish Succession

P 30, l 6 **ugene.**—François Eugène, Prince of Savoy-Carignan, was the son of the Count of Soissons by a niece of Cardinal Mazarin, and a grandson of the Duke of Savoy He was born at Paris in 1663, and was at first destined for the Church, but his father's death, and the wrongs inflicted on his mother and on his family by Louis XIV, drove him into the service of the Emperor Leopold II, in which he

had already distinguished himself greatly at the siege of Vienna, in Piedmont, and at the battle of Zenta, where he defeated the Turks in September 1697. At a later date he became one of the most celebrated generals in Europe, second only to Marlborough, perhaps, in renown. He died in 1736. He was one of the few 'very perfect gentle knights' of history.

P. 30, l. 7. **The Italian Alps.**—That portion of the Alpine chain which bordered Rætia, the ancient name of the country which now comprises the Grisons, the Tyrol, and the north-eastern part of Lombardy. For Catinat, see note above on line 4.

P. 30, l. 8 **The faithless ruler of Savoy.**—Victor Amadeus II, Duke of Savoy (1666–1732), who succeeded his father in 1675. He was at first in alliance with Louis XIV, and in 1686 renewed the cruel persecution of his Protestant subjects the Vaudois, or Waldenses, whose oppression by his father had provoked Cromwell's interference and Milton's fiery sonnet. But in 1690 he joined the league of Spain and the Empire against France and, at the instance of England and Holland, restored their homes and their freedom of worship to the Vaudois. His defeat at Marsaglia has been mentioned above. When the War of the Spanish Succession began, he changed sides again and commanded the combined forces of France and Spain in Italy, while at the same time he intrigued with the house of Austria. In 1701 he once more turned his coat and declared against the King of Spain, his own son-in-law, and was nearly ruined by the vengeance of Spain. Prince Eugene saved him by the victory of Turin in 1706. By the Treaty of Utrecht, 1713, he became King of the Two Sicilies, but in 1720 exchanged them for the kingdom of Sardinia. Though a 'faithless' politician of the Machiavellian pattern, he was a very able ruler.

P. 30, l. 10 **Manchester.**—See note on p. 21, l. 11.

P. 30, l. 12. **Grand Alliance.**—The first Grand Alliance was between the Emperor and Holland, signed at Vienna in May 1689, to which England, Spain, and Savoy afterwards acceded. The second was signed at The Hague in September 1701 by England, the Empire, Holland, and the United Provinces, and was not long afterwards joined by Sweden, Denmark, the Palatinate of the Rhine, and by most of the other German States. It was formed to prevent the union of the French and Spanish crowns under one monarch, the reversal of the work of the Reformation, and the forcible reinstatement of Catholicism and despotism in England.

P. 30, l. 15 **Mont Cenis.**—The pass over Mont Cenis lies on the direct route between Paris and Turin. The first road over it was made by order of Napoleon between 1801 and 1806. There is now a tunnel, nearly eight miles long, through a neighbouring mountain from Modane on the French side to Bardonnecchia, which was constructed between 1857 and 1870.

P 30, l 21. In his 'Divine Ode' he has the following stanza

'Thy mercy sweeten'd every soul,
Made every region please
The hoary Alpine hills it warm'd,
And smooth'd the Tyrrhene seas'

The third line refers to this journey over Mont Cenis, the fourth to the storm between San Remo and Genoa, which has been mentioned above, p 26, ll 6-18.

P 30, l 23 pistle to . . . ontague.—See note on p. 20, ll 14 and 15 The passage that follows is an instance of 'damning with faint praise'

P 30, l 30 The death of Dryden.—In 1701 See note on p 14, l 32

P 30, l 31. The ssay on Criticis .—Published by Pope in 1711, and criticised by Addison in No 253 of the *Spectator*. See note on p. 15, l 22. For Parnell and Prior see notes on p 5, l 10, and p 20, l 8.

P. 31, l 1 I peached.—See note on p 15, l 3

P 31, l 5 Suavity—Latin *suavitas*, pleasantness, agreeableness—exactly describes the sweet courtesy which helped to make Addison beloved as a man, as a politician, and as a writer

P 31, l 8 eneva, at the south end of the lake of that name, lies on either bank of the Rhone It was one of the earliest bulwarks of the Protestant Reformation, having embraced that austere form of Protestantism which was connected with the name of Calvin (1509-1564), who settled here in 1536 and for some twenty years exercised an ecclesiastical tyranny of the most rigid and intolerant kind

P 31, l 13. ugene.—See note on p 30, l 6

P 31, l 14. Selected.—See note on p 20, l 19

P. 31, l 16.—In 1702.

P 31, l 20 The seals.—The seals of office as Secretary of State. See note on p 21, l 11.

P 31, l 21. Sworn of.—I.e. admitted as a member of the Privy Council. The idiom comes from the transitive use of the verb 'swear,' in the sense 'to bind by an oath'

P 31, l 25 Tutor to a young English traveller.—This assertion rests solely on the statement made by Swift in his 'Label on Delany,' that Addison was left in distress abroad and became 'travelling tutor to a squire,' and cannot be accepted as trustworthy in the absence of corroboration from any other source. There was indeed an abortive negotiation conducted through Tonson, the Whig bookseller, with the haughty Duke of Somerset, who wanted a tutor for his son. But the Duke took offence at a polite hint from Addison that he should not

'find his account' in a remuneration of only £100 a year and his travelling expenses, and the negotiations were abruptly broken off.

P 31, l 28 *Treatise on medals*.—See note on p 11, l 20

P. 31, l 37. *Kit Cat club*.—See note on p 21, l 16

P 32, l 4 *Pecuniary difficulties*.—When he lost his pension, he had nothing but his fellowship to fall back on. It is unlikely that his share of the family estate, which would have accrued to him after his father's death, brought any substantial addition of income, for the Dean of Lichfield does not appear to have been a wealthy man

P 32, l 11 *The prerogative*.—The powers and privileges exclusively reserved to the sovereign, such as coining money, creating peers, sending and receiving ambassadors, summoning Parliament, appointing various officials, and giving or withholding assent to a bill

P 32, l 13 *Godolphin*.—Sidney Godolphin ((^o) 1630–1712) was in his boyhood a page to Prince Charles, afterwards Charles II. He became a Privy Councillor in 1679, First Lord of the Treasury and Baron Godolphin in 1684, Lord High Treasurer, 1690 to 1696, 1700–1701, and 1702–1710, and was honoured with a knighthood of the Garter in 1704. Two years later he was made Viscount and Earl of Godolphin. He was a man of ability and character. Though a Tory, he voted for the bill to exclude the Duke of York, afterwards James II, from the throne, but was nevertheless one of the Commissioners sent by James to negotiate with the Prince of Orange on his landing. He was a friend and supporter of the Duke of Marlborough, in later life he gradually became more and more closely identified with the Whig party.

P 32, l 14 *The Captain General Marlborough*.—John Churchill (1650–1722) was, perhaps, the greatest general and the greatest military diplomatist that England has produced, not even excepting the Duke of Wellington. He early distinguished himself as a soldier in the defence of Tangier against the Moors, and at the sieges of Nimeguen and Maestricht (1676). He was made Baron Eymouth in 1682, and Viscount Churchill in 1685, and soon afterwards saved the king's forces from defeat at Sedgemoor. At the Revolution he abandoned the cause of James II, while vigorously protesting his loyalty to the king, and was rewarded by William III. with the earldom of Marlborough and a privy councillorship. While serving in Flanders in 1691 he was suspected, not without reason, of a second treachery, a secret correspondence with the dethroned sovereign, and was dismissed from his command and imprisoned for a time in the Tower of London. He was, however, restored to favour in 1697, and in 1700 was made Captain General of the Forces in the United Provinces and named ambassador to France. In 1700 he commenced a brilliant career of military success, which made his name a terror to the enemies of his country for generations and a subject of ballad, song, and poem in every country in Europe. He was created Duke of Marlborough in 1702. His greatest and most decisive victory was at Blenheim, or, Hochstadt, in 1704, for which he received the thanks of Parliament and was presented

with the estate of Woodstock. Three other victories fell to him at Ramillies (1706), at Oudenarde (1708), and at Malplaquet (1709), though less decisive and more costly. He was rewarded after Ramillies with a pension of £5000 a year and the magnificent Blenheim Palace built for him at Woodstock at the expense of the nation, and after Malplaquet a general thanksgiving was solemnised. In the next year, at the summit of human greatness, he was accused of speculation and condemned as guilty by a vote of the House of Commons, he withdrew into voluntary exile. He returned and was restored to his offices in 1714 on the accession of George I, but an attack of apoplexy shortly afterwards drove him from public life. In person Marlborough was the handsomest Englishman of his day. In character he presents strange contrasts. To a consummate capacity for statesmanship, for diplomacy, and for the art of war he united a fearlessness, an equanimity, and a self-control which no difficulty or danger could disturb. He had a natural dignity which rested on the magnanimous pride of the best type of aristocrat. His only concession to sentiment of any kind was his passionate devotion to his wife. In all these respects he bore an extraordinary similarity to that great imperial Englishman of a century later, Warren Hastings. But here the parallel ends. More justly than Bacon does he deserve the reproach, 'greatest, meanest of mankind.' In his pursuit of fame and wealth he allowed no scruples of honour or humanity to stand in his way, he was even mean enough to rob his victorious soldiers of wholesome rations, to satisfy his avarice, and his subordinate commanders of justly earned reputation, to exaggerate his own renown. He was a double-dyed traitor, who betrayed in turn every cause which he professed to serve, in order to promote his own advancement.

P 32, l 20 **The funded debt.**—The National Debt, see note on Montague. p 15, l 3

P 32, l 20 **The privileges conceded to Dissenters.**—See note on p 6, l 32

P 32, l 27 **The prejudices, &c.**—A characteristic specimen of the gross unfairness into which Macaulay is habitually led by his Whig prejudices.

P. 32, l 29 **Closes.**—The walled precincts of a cathedral or abbey, as the close of Westminster Abbey or of Canterbury Cathedral.

P. 34, l 7. **r. Canning.**—George Canning (1770–1827), orator and statesman, was Foreign Secretary in 1807, and initiated the Peninsular campaign by which the power of Napoleon on land was ultimately broken. In 1822 he was appointed Governor-General of India; but the death of Lord Castlereagh left the Foreign Office vacant, and he again became Foreign Secretary. It was from this date that Canning was thought by many Tories to have turned his back on the Tory principles that he had hitherto advocated by brilliant speeches and by his witty papers in the *Anti-Jacobin*, the Tory monthly magazine which was such a thorn in the sides of the Whig party from 1798 to 1821. From

1822 to 1826, and still more decidedly in 1827, when he became Prime Minister, he had to encounter bitter opposition and dislike from the high Tories of his own party, and to rely largely on Whig support

P. 34, l. 9. **Nottingham and Jersey.**—Daniel Finch, Earl of Nottingham (1647-1730), was in 1704 at the head of the high Tories, who opposed Marlborough and the continuance of the war, their withdrawal from the Ministry led to an infusion of moderate Tories and to a policy of co-operation with the Whigs

Edward Villiers, Earl of Jersey (1656-1711), had been envoy to Holland in 1695, and Lord Justice of Ireland in 1697, when he was given an earldom. He was Secretary of State in 1699, and Lord Chamberlain in 1700. In 1703 he joined the Council, but left it with Nottingham and other high Tories in 1704

P. 34, l. 10. **Lord Eldon and Lord Westmoreland.**—John Scott, Earl of Eldon (1751-1838), the famous lawyer, was Lord Chancellor 1801-1806 and 1807-1827. He resigned in 1827 because Canning became Prime Minister

John Fane, tenth Earl of Westmoreland (1759-1841), was a lifelong friend of William Pitt. He became Paymaster-General and a Privy Councillor in 1789, and was Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland from 1790 to 1795. In 1798 he was appointed Lord Privy Seal—an office which he held, with one short break, till 1827. He had previously received the knighthood of the Garter in 1793. Like Eldon, though a Tory, he would not serve under Canning

P. 34, l. 13. **Sunderland, Cowper.**—Charles Spencer, third Earl of Sunderland (1674-1722), became Secretary of State in 1707. He was a violent Whig, for whom Queen Anne had a positive abhorrence. His tacit alliance with Marlborough in 1704 was followed a year later by his appointment as envoy to Vienna

William Cowper, first Earl Cowper (1665-1723), another Whig of the Junto group, was a great-uncle of the poet Cowper. He was made Lord Keeper by Marlborough in 1705, and Baron Cowper in 1706 as a reward for his support. He became first Lord Chancellor of Great Britain in 1707, after actively promoting the Union with Scotland. In 1710 he presided at the trial of Dr Sacheverell, and in 1718 he was created Earl Cowper

P. 34, ll. 22-24. **Whose genius had, &c.**—The material result of Blenheim was a loss to the French and Bavarians of 12,000 slain and 14,000 captured out of an army of 50,000, the political effect was that Vienna was saved, Germany cleared of the French, and England finally freed from foreign attempts to interfere with her internal affairs, the moral consequences were the humiliation of Louis XIV, the destruction of his prestige for invincibility in war, and the creation of a corresponding terror of the name of Marlborough. The village of Blenheim, or Bhdnheim is in Bavaria, on the left bank of the Danube. Marlborough was opposed by Marshal Tallard and the Elector of Bavaria, Tallard himself was taken prisoner

P 34, l 25. **The Act of Settlement.**—1689 and 1701, the latter is here referred to. The Act of 1701 settled the Crown, after the demise of William III and Queen Anne without issue, on Sophia, Electress of Hanover, granddaughter of James I, and on such of her heirs as should be Protestants. It was under this Act that George I succeeded to the Crown.

P 34, l 33 **new market.**—Thirteen miles from Cambridge, a great racing centre.

P 35, l 10 —I.e. he understood the financial business of his office, internal and external. Subsidies of foreign, especially German, troops played an important part in the wars of the eighteenth century.

P 35, l 12 **Fighting-cocks.**—This barbarous form of sport remained popular until well after the beginning of the nineteenth century.

P 35, l 22 **The soft answer, &c.**—Proverbs xv 1 'A soft answer turneth away wrath.'

P 35, l 33 **A garret up three pair of stairs.**—Cf Thackeray's 'English Humourists'—Congreve and Addison 'Addison was living up three shabby pair of stairs in the Haymarket (in a poverty over which Samuel Johnson rather chuckles), when in these shabby rooms an emissary from Government and Fortune came and found him. A poem was wanted about the Duke of Marlborough's victory of Blenheim. Would Mr Addison write one?' Mr Addison would.'

P 36, l 1 **The right Honourable Henry Boyle.**—Henry Boyle, born 1665 (?), was a grandson of the second Earl of Cork. He was a Lord of the Treasury, 1699–1701, when he became Lord Chancellor; Lord Treasurer of Ireland, 1704–1708, Secretary of State, 1708, and Baron Carleton, 1714. From 1721 to 1725 he was President of the Council. He died in the latter year. Addison dedicated the third volume of the *Spectator* to him. It was he who left Carlton House to the Prince Regent, afterwards George IV, and his name is perpetuated in Carlton Terrace.

P 36, l 9 **Similitude of the Angel.**—The passage runs:

' 'Twas then great Marlbrō's mighty soul was proved,
That, in the shock of charging hosts, unmov'd,
Amidst confusion, horror, and despair,
Examined all the dreadful scenes of war,
In peaceful thought the field of death survey'd,
To fainting squadrons sent the timely aid,
Inspir'd repuls'd battalions to engage,
And taught the doubtful battle where to rage
So when an angel by divine command
With rising tempests shakes a guilty land,
Such as of late o'er pale Britannia past,
Calm and serene he drives the furious blast,
And, pleas'd th' Almighty's orders to perform,
Rides in the whirlwind, and directs the storm.'

P. 36, l 10 **A Commissionership.**—He was made Commissioner of Appeals, a post just vacated by Locke's promotion to the Secretaryship of the Board of Trade

P. 36, l 12 **An earnest.**—It certainly was, for Addison became successively Under-Secretary of State, Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, Keeper of the Records in Ireland, a Lord Commissioner of Trade, and Secretary of State

P. 36, l 13 **The Ca paign.**—It is a long poem in heroic verse, of no particular merit beyond its common-sense, on which Macaulay remarks below Dr Wharton called it a 'Gazette in rhyme' Dr Johnson (see note on p 38, l 32) praised it for its 'rational and manly rejection of fiction,' and for commending those qualities of Marlborough in which he was truly great But there is no other passage as good as the one quoted at line 9 above, and it is very tedious work reading the whole poem through

P. 36, l 20 **The first great poet.**—Homer, to whom are—or were—attributed the two first great Greek epics, the 'Iliad' and the 'Odyssey.' The individuality of Homer has been denied by some modern critics

P. 36, l 25 **Rudely.**—Unskilfully

P. 36, l 27 **Good armour, horses, and chariots.**—Even so late as the time of the tragic poet Æschylus, in the sixth century B C, the possession of horses is noted as a sign of wealth and luxury *ἄγαλμα τῆς υπερπλοῦτος χλιδῆς* (Prometheus, 466)

P. 36, l 35 **Who sprang from the gods.**—The Heroes, who were credited in classical mythology with a semi-divine origin, the offspring of the union of a god with a mortal woman, or of a goddess with a man

P. 36, l 37. **Who could with ease, &c.**—The allusion is to Homer, 'Iliad,' xx 285-288, where Æneas, in his fight with Achilles, easily brandishes and hurls an immense stone 'which not two strong men could carry of our age'

P. 37, ll 4-8 **Achilles, &c.**—The allusion is to Homer, 'Iliad,' xix 8-11, 367, 368, 387-390, 400, &c.; xx 455, &c., and xxi 15, 16 Sarpedon, King of Lycia, a country in the south of Asia Minor, bordering on the Mediterranean, was an ally of Troy. slain by Patroclus (xvi. 480, &c.) The river Scamander flowed through Troas, the country of Troy, from Mount Ida to the sea below Sigæum Troy, the siege and capture of which by the Greeks are described in Homer's 'Iliad,' was the capital of the Troas, the country which formed the north-western promontory of Asia Minor.

P. 37, l 10 **Of the best Sidonian fabric.**—Of the best Phœnician workmanship, the Phœnicians of Tyre and Sidon were great importers of metal, and skilled artisans Cf Homer, 'Iliad,' xxiii 740-744, where the skill of the Sidonians in chased silver work is extolled.

P. 37, l 11 **orses of Thessalian breed.**—The horses of Thessaly, in northern Greece, were famed among the Greeks for speed, and the Myrmidons over whom Achilles ruled were a Thessalian people Homer

does not appear to mention Thessalian horses, but Varro, the Roman writer, does, and Statius has 'Thessalian chariot' for the chariot of Achilles. The horses of Thrace, however, are mentioned by Vergil, 'Æneid,' v. 565, and the Thracian steeds of Rhesus, which Odysseus and Diomedes captured, are described by Homer as 'exceeding fine and tall, whiter than snow, and like unto the winds in speed' ('Iliad,' x 436)

P. 37, l 12 *ude*.—Uncivilised

P. 37, l 14 *The Lifeguards an Shaw*.—The two senior regiments of the royal bodyguard are the Lifeguards, they are all picked men of six feet and upwards. The regiments were raised originally soon after the Restoration, chiefly from the cavaliers who had followed the king's fortunes. Shaw was the tallest man in the army, and a popular hero. He had been a noted prize-fighter, but left the ring to fight for his country at Waterloo, where he distinguished himself by personal bravery and strength. In Gleig's account of the battle of Waterloo there is a description of the helter-skelter charge of the Household Brigade, including the first and second regiments of Life Guards, under Lord Edward Somerset, on the French Cuirassiers near La Haye Sainte and the Charleroi road. He adds, 'It is on such occasions that opportunities for individual heroism are afforded, which, however animated the descriptions of them may be, do not, in modern warfare, make amends for the loss of power which attaches to cavalry when it is massed. Here Shaw, the celebrated pugilist, earned a name for himself by disabling, with his own hand, not fewer than seven enemies, and here he received the multitude of wounds, of the aggregate of which he died.' Scott, in a letter to the Duke of Buccleuch, mentions how Shaw, 'the milling Lifeguardsman, . . . killed or disabled twenty Frenchmen.'

P. 37, l 16 *The Mamelukes*.—The bodyguard of the Sultan of Egypt, consisting originally of slaves, was established about 1240. They were driven out of Egypt by Napoleon in 1798, but subsequently reconquered the country. Mahomet Ali, the Turkish pasha, exterminated them by a treacherous massacre in 1811.

P. 37, l 17 *Mameluke*.—Murad Bey (1750–1801) (?) led the Mamelukes against the French, and, though defeated at the battle of the Pyramids, inflicted a severe loss on them by burning their fleet on the Nile in 1799. He was ultimately forced to submit in 1800.

P. 37, l 21 *Like a butcher*.—Clumsily, awkwardly. To ride 'like a tailor' is the more common expression.

P. 37, l 26 *Silius Italicus*.—See note on p. 11, l 8. The passage criticised is in his epic on the Second Punic War, in which Hannibal and Hasdrubal were the chief Carthaginian leaders; while Fabius 'Cunctator,' the cautious, and Claudius Nero, the daring Nero of the great victory over Hasdrubal at the Metaurus, were two of the most prominent Roman generals.

P. 38, l 4. *The Oynah*.—The decisive battle of the campaign against James II. in Ireland was fought in July 1690, William III. and the

Duke of Schomberg commanded the Protestant army, James (nominally) and Sarsfield the Roman Catholic

P 38, l 5 **John Phillips.**—A minor poet (1676-1708), now only remembered by his humorous poem 'The Splendid Shilling' His poem on 'Blenheim,' which Macaulay here criticises, is as good an example of the *unconscious* mock-heroic as the other is of the conscious

P 38, l 8—See note on p 34, ll 22-24

P 38, l 11 **Tallard.**—Camille d'Hostun, Count and afterwards Duke de Tallard, Marshal of France, 1652-1728, learned the art of war under Condé and Turenne He had had a career of uniform success hitherto, culminating in a victory over the imperial forces at Spies, in Bavaria, in 1703. See note on p 34, ll. 2-24.

P 38, l 17 **The glowing balls play innocent.**—I.e. the cannon-balls all missed him

P 38, l 25 **The qualities which, &c.**—See the extract from 'The Campaign,' note on p 36, l. 9, and the note on p 32, l 14.

P 38, l 30 **The famous comparison.**—See the note on p 36, l 9

P 38 l 32 **Johnson's remarks.**—After referring to Dr Wharton's criticism, he remarks: 'Before a censure so severe is admitted, let us consider that war is a frequent subject of poetry, and then inquire who has described it with more greatness and force Many of our own writers tried their powers upon this year of victory, yet Addison's is confessedly the best performance, his poem is the work of a man not blinded by the dust of learning, his images are not borrowed merely from books The superiority which he confers upon his hero is not personal prowess and 'mighty bone,' but deliberate intrepidity, a calm command of his passions, and the power of consulting his own mind in the midst of danger The rejection and contempt of fiction is rational and manly' On the simile of the angel Johnson's criticism is rather pedantic, the keynote of it is contained in the words 'Marlborough is so like the angel in the poem that the action of both is almost the same, and performed by both in the same manner.' To this it may be replied that the virtue of the epic simile is a fairly obvious similarity, and that the classical poets were admittedly Addison's models Similes like some of Shelley's, where similarity is found in things apparently quite dissimilar, are not epic, but lyric

P. 40, l 1 **ot of a stor , but of the storm.**—This is a good example of the power of emphasis to raise even symbolic words such as the indefinite and definite articles See the remarks made on this subject by Mr Eale in 'The Philology of the English Tongue,' § 621

P. 40, ll 1-13 The great storm of the 26th and 27th of November 1703 had caused extraordinary devastation on land and loss at sea Some 8000 lives were lost in the merchant shipping, while the navy had twelve battleships sunk with 1800 men on board The Eddystone lighthouse was destroyed, with its inventor n land incalculable damage was done, in London alone to the extent of two millions sterling,

innumerable sheep and cattle were drowned, and trees uprooted—17,000 in Kent alone. The Bishop of Bath and Wells and his wife were killed in bed at their palace.

P 40, l. 16 **The particular.**—I.e. an allusion to some particular person, place, or event.

P 40, l. 21 **Victor Amadeus.**—See note on p. 30, l. 8

P 40, l. 21 **Jollities.**—Gaieties, revelries

P 40, l. 24 **The war between the Trojans and the utulians.**—This is the subject of the later books of Vergil's '*Æneid*,' from the seventh book onwards, after the arrival of Æneas and his Trojan followers in Latium, and the promise of the hand of the king's daughter to Æneas. The previously favoured suitor, Turnus, king of the neighbouring people, the Rutulians, made war upon Æneas.

P 40, l. 27 **Faustina.**—The dissolute wife of the emperor Marcus Aurelius, who died in 175 A.D., is probably meant. But her mother, Faustina the elder, wife of the emperor Antoninus Pius, who died A.D. 141, was almost equally notorious.

P 40, l. 33 **Humane.**—Probably the word is used here in the prevailing modern sense of 'kindly, kind-hearted,' as Macaulay elsewhere speaks of 'the humane spirit of Mr Gladstone'—not in the older sense 'refined,' 'tending to refinement,' as in 'humane literature.'

P 41, l. 2 **References to the Latin orators and historians.**—This is true, the only exceptions are two quotations from Suetonius, an allusion to a remark of Tacitus, an allusion to a passage in Cicero's letters, a quotation from Cicero, an allusion to a description of Livy's, and an allusion to Pliny the Elder.

P. 41, l. 5. **ante, Petrarch.**—Dante Alighieri (1265–1321), the greatest poet of Italy, and one of the few great world poets, was inspired at an early age by the beauty and goodness of Beatrice Portinari with a love which dominated his whole life, though she died when he was only twenty-five. The love of Beatrice and an ardent veneration for the Roman poet Virgil are the two joint inspirations of his great epic poem on Hell, Purgatory, and Paradise, which he called the '*Divine Comedy*,' an epitome of medieval theology and a rich treasury of medieval ideas in general. His life was an unhappy one, embittered by domestic troubles and by exile from his native Florence, resulting from the internecine feuds of the two factions, the 'Black' and the 'White,' the adherents of Pope and Emperor, respectively, in that city. He died in exile at Ravenna. A very striking contemporary portrait of him still remains to us in the fresco painting of him made by his friend Giotto, which is preserved at Florence. With Dante modern European literature began.

Petrarch.—Francesco Petrarca (1304–1374) was, like Dante, inspired to song by a great passion, for the beautiful Laura de Noves, wife of Hugues de Sade. His Latin works are now forgotten, but his Italian sonnets, songs, and 'triumphs' are an enduring monument to the

beauty and virtue of his Laura Petrarch was a classical scholar, and rendered great service to the cause of learning by his researches for ancient manuscripts and remains He was the friend of Boccaccio and of Ruenzi, the tribune of Rome

P 41, l 6 **occaccio, oiardo, &c.**—Giovanni Boccaccio (1313-1375), Italian novelist, friend and contemporary of Petrarch, was also a valuable worker in the cause of the revival of learning, and was the first to bring copies of Homer's 'Iiad' and 'Odyssey' into Italy His chief work was the 'Decamerone,' a collection of a hundred tales, mostly of love and intrigue, with which a number of fashionable ladies and gentlemen who have fled from the plague at Florence are supposed to amuse one another His style is lively and humorous, but the stories abound in lechituousness and indecencies

Boiardo—Matteo Maria Boiardo (1434-1494) was the author of the Italian epic 'Orlando in Love,' the first example of the romantic epic and the model which Ariosto afterwards followed

P 41, l 6 **erni.**—Francesco Berni (died 1536) was an Italian writer of burlesque rhymes, i.e. rhymed satires, and revised Boiardo's epic

P 41, l 6 **Lorenzo de' edici.**—1448-1492 From 1469 till his death he was the absolute ruler of Florence, and was styled 'Lorenzo the Magnificent' He was an able and vigorous ruler and a munificent patron of art, letters, and science

P 41, l 6 **achiaVELLI.**—Niccolo Macchiavelli, Italian statesman and historian (1469-1527), is chiefly remembered for his treatise on the art of ruling a state, entitled 'The Prince,' the principles of which have rendered his name a sinister one No other extant work, pre-Christian or Christian, has carried the divorce between ethics and politics so far as 'The Prince'; it is the clue to the labyrinth of dark intrigue and bloodshed which constitutes Italian medieval history

P 41, l 7 **Ferrara.**—The town, which dates back to the fifth century, lies south of the Po, on a tributary of that river, twenty-eight miles north-east of Bologna Here Tasso was at one time confined in an asylum, and Ariosto was buried It was the seat of the Dukes of the great house of Este

P 41, l 8 **Ariosto.**—Ludovico Ariosto (1474-1533) was a celebrated Italian epic poet, author of 'Orlando Mad.'

P 41, l 8 **Gondoliers.**—The rowers of the gondola, the long, dark, narrow boat, sharp-prowed, and elevated at the stern and at the bows, which takes the place of cabs at Venice The oar is phed from the stern, the rower standing, and is used to steer, as well as to row, the boat

P 41, l 9 **Tasso.**—See note on p 16, l 18 From a remark which Addison makes in *Spectator*, No 369, it is clear that, in Tasso's case at least, the reason why he did not quote him was that he did not think him worth quoting 'I might have inserted also several passages of Tasso . . . but as I do not look upon Tasso to be a sufficient

voucher, I would not perplex my reader with such quotations, as might do more honour to the Italian than English poet' (Milton)

P 41, l. 10 **Valerius Flaccus . . . Sidonius Apollinaris.**—Caius Valerius Flaccus Sabinus Balbus, a minor Roman poet of the first century, who died about 88 A.D. at an early age, left an unfinished epic on the legend of the Argonauts. The poem was probably written soon after the conquest of Jerusalem by Titus, A.D. 70.

Carus Silius Sidonius Apollinaris was an early Christian poet of the fifth century, about A.D. 430-488. He married the daughter of the emperor Avitus, and, though a layman, was made Bishop of Clermont in France, his native country. He left a number of Latin poems and letters, valuable from the historical facts recorded in them.

P 41, l. 11. **Tic'.**—The river Ticino, a northern tributary of the Po, rises in the St. Gothard and flows through lake Maggiore.

P 41, l. 11 **Sihus.**—See note on p. 11, l. 8.

P 41, l. 12 **Albula.**—Acque Albule, the Roman Aquæ Albulæ, about fifteen miles east of Rome, on the road to Tivoli, has warm sulphur-baths.

P 41, l. 13 **artial.**—Valerius Martialis (A.D. 43-101 (?)) was a witty and licentious writer of pungent epigrams, without a spark of inspiration or nobility of thought, but a finished master of elegant versification. Pliny the Younger says of him 'He was a man of talent, acuteness, and spirit, with plenty of wit and gall, and as sincere as he was witty' (Clutwell).

P 41, l. 14 **The illustrious dead of Santa Croce.**—Santa Croce, the Church of the Holy Cross at Florence, contains monuments to many celebrated Italians. Here are the famous frescoes of Giotto and the tombs of Michael Angelo, Macchiavelli, and Alfieri, and monuments to Dante, buried at Ravenna, and to the great astronomer Galileo Galilei.

P. 14, l. 15. **avenna.**—A very ancient town in the north-east of Italy, now six miles from the shore of the Adriatic, on which it once stood. It is famed for its antiquities and for the tomb of Dante. The famous pine forest of Ravenna, 'La Pineta,' which has existed since the days of Odoacer, lies some three or four miles outside. It has been celebrated by Dante, Boccaccio, Dryden, and Byron. See the following note.

P. 41, l. 15 **The Spectre ts an.**—The story is told by Boccaccio, 'Decameron,' day vi., novel vii., of Anastasio and the daughter of Paolo Traversaro. It forms the basis of Dryden's poem, 'Theodore and Honoria.' 'Theodore, Honoria's lover, is repulsed by her. He leaves Ravenna for Chiassi, and there, wandering at early morning among the pines, he sees a maiden pursued through briars and brambles by "two mastiffs gaunt and grim," and "a knight of swarthy face—high on a coal-black steed." The knight is Guido Cavalcanti, who, in despair at his spurned love, killed himself, and now is "damned in

hell" The hunted maiden is the cruel damsel, who, at her death, is condemned to be daily pursued by the spectral Guido and the ghostly hounds Honoria, taken to see the spectacle, relents, and confesses her love for Theodore' (R. E. Prothero)

'Because she deem'd and well deserved to die,
And made a merit of her cruelty . . .
Mine is the ungrateful mind by heaven design'd:
Mercy she would not give, nor mercy shall she find'
By her example warn'd, the rest beware:
More easy, less imperious, were the fair.
And that one hunting, which the Devil design'd
For one fair female, lost him half the kind.'
—Dryden: 'Theodore and Honoria.'

Byron alludes to the story in cantos cv. and cvi. of 'Don Juan':

'Evergreen forest! which Boccaccio's lore
And Dryden's lay made haunted ground to me,
How have I loved the twilight hour and thee!

The spectre huntsman of Onesti's line,
His bull-dogs, and their chase, and the fair throng
Which learned from this example not to fly
From a true lover, shadowed my mind's eye.'

And in a letter to John Murray, dated June 29, 1819, he says 'I made or drive every day in the forest, the Pineta, the scene of Boccaccio's novel, and Dryden's Fable of Honoria'

P 41, l. 16 mi.—On the Adriatic, south of Ravenna, the Roman Ariminum, an ancient Umbrian town

P 41, l. 17. **Francesca**.—Francesca da Rimini is the heroine of the famous love-story narrated by Dante in the fifth canto of his 'Inferno' (Hell) He derived the episode from the history of the Malatestas, hereditary princes of Rimini She was the daughter of Guido da Polenta, Lord of Ravenna, and was compelled against her will to marry the deformed Lanciotto, son of Malatesta, Lord of Rimini She fell in love with the handsome Paolo, her husband's brother. Lanciotto slew them both Dante depicts them together in hell

'Floating for ever on the accursed air'

The story has been made the subject of several tragedies, mediæval and modern, the latest of which was the work of Stephen Phillips, staged in London not long ago

P 41, l. 18 **Boileau**.—See note on p 22, l. 19

P 41, l. 21 **Vincenzo Filicaja**.—Vincenzo da Filicaja (1642–1707) was born at Florence, and was living there when Addison visited it He was a celebrated lyrical poet.

P 41, l. 28. **Tuscan.**—Of Tuscany, the Roman Etruria Tuscany, the former Grand Duchy, included Arezzo, Florence, Leghorn, Lucca, Pisa, and Sienna Dante, Petrarch, and Filicaja were all natives of Tuscany, while Ariosto and Boiardo were born not far outside its limits.

* P 41, l. 29 **Tawdry.**—Ostentatious, without taste The word is a corruption of St Audrey, St Etheldrida, at whose fair, on October 17, cheap necklaces—called ‘tawdry laces’—were sold The chief seat of the fair was the Isle of Ely, of the cathedral of which St. Etheldrida was the foundress.

P 41, l. 30 **Opera of osa ond.**—The presentation of the estate of Woodstock to the Duke of Marlborough suggested to Addison the subject of ‘Fair Rosamond’ for his English opera The Italian opera had been recently introduced into England, and Addison had been struck by the absurdity of an audience listening for a whole evening to songs and dialogue in a language which scarcely any of them understood The story was a familiar one, both from its connection with English history and from the ballad preserved in Percy’s ‘Reliques,’ Daniel’s tragedy, ‘The Complaint of Rosamond,’ and the tragedy of doubtful authorship published in 1693, ‘Henry II . . . with the death of Rosamond’ The heroine was Jane Clifford, daughter of Walter, Lord Clifford, who became the mistress of Henry II and was isolated in the house called ‘The Labyrinth,’ in the midst of a maze at Woodstock, which the king had constructed for her safe-keeping Queen Eleanor, however, obtained access to ‘Rosamond’ and, dagger in hand, compelled her to swallow a bowl of poison Addison altered the plot for political reasons, a queen being then on the throne, sent Rosamond into a convent to repent, and reconciled the king and his offended queen The piece is slight, but pleasing Macaulay follows Dr Johnson in his criticism, except in his special praise of the songs Johnson remarked ‘The dialogue is commonly better than the songs,’ and Johnson was right He was, indeed, a much better critic than Macaulay in any case where his prejudices did not mar his judgment

P. 41, l. 37 **owe.**—Nicholas Rowe (1673–1718) was one of the numerous second-rate men who have held the office of poet-laureate He wrote tragedies, poems, a ‘Life of Shakespeare,’ and a translation of Lucan’s ‘Pharsalia’ He also produced an edition of Shakespeare ‘Jane Shore’ is, perhaps, his best tragedy

P. 42, l. 4 **ector Arne.**—Thomas Augustine Arne (1710–1778), English composer, set Addison’s opera to music in 1733, Milton’s ‘Comus’ in 1738, Mallet’s ‘Alfred,’ containing the song ‘Rule Britannia,’ in 1740, and in 1762 produced his best work, the opera ‘Artaxerxes,’ adapted from the Italian of Metastasio, which Charles Lamb saw in 1768. Lamb has described it in one of the ‘Essays of Elia’ (‘My First Play’)

P. 42, l. 7 **arpsichord.**—A rudimentary kind of piano.

P. 42, l. 16. **Cowper.**—He became Lord Keeper in 1705, Lord Chancellor in 1707. See note on p. 34, l. 13.

P 42, l 18 **The order of the Garter.**—The highest order of English knighthood, instituted by Edward III. in 1749 It is reserved for royal personages and the greater nobles It was this order that Lord Melbourne praised because there was 'no damned nonsense about merit' in it The Electoral Prince of Hanover, afterwards George I of England, derived his claim to the English throne from his mother Sophia, granddaughter of James I

P. 42, l 22 **Sir Charles edges.**—English judge and politician, died 1714

P 42, l 24 **arl of Sunderland.**—See note on p 34, l 13

P. 42, l 25 **High Church en.**—See note on line 33 below

P. 42, l 28 **arley.**—Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, leader of the moderate Tories (1661–1724), had come into the Ministry with St John in 1705 He was a weak man, of no great ability, but a patron of literature and an intimate friend of Swift and Pope He was Lord Treasurer in 1711, and was impeached for treason in 1714 and imprisoned for two years in the Tower, but acquitted and released in 1717

P 42, l 29 **A Tory at heart.**—Queen Anne hated the Whigs, whom she regarded as rebels, and was only induced to tolerate them through the complete ascendancy exercised over her for many years by the imperious Duchess of Marlborough

P 42, l 33 **The Low Church party.**—The Low Churchmen were the remnant of the Puritans in the English Church, and were in sympathy with the Lutherans and Calvinists, the extreme Protestants on the Continent, they disliked ritual, were very lukewarm supporters of Episcopal rule, and were generally Whigs in their political sympathies. The High Churchmen desired to minimise as much as possible the results of the Protestant Reformation in the English Church, they favoured elaborate ritual, Episcopal government, and, generally, the power and authority of the priesthood In politics they were Tories and often Jacobites The former party approximated to the Dissenters, the latter to the Church of Rome

P 42, l 35 **Uttering a savage growl, &c.**—See note on p 32, l 27, &c

P 42, l 37 **Sacheverell.**—Dr Henry Sacheverell, Tory divine (1672–1724), preached two sermons, one at Derby, the other in St Paul's Cathedral, in the autumn of 1709, in which he raised the cry of 'the church in danger,' supported the doctrine of non-resistance, and inveighed against Whigs and Dissenters He was impeached in the House of Commons and sentenced to be suspended from preaching for three years This persecution made him the popular idol of the hour, and caused serious riots in London and in the provinces The incident was, in fact, merely the spark which kindled the smouldering hatred of the Whigs and of the war into a flame throughout the country.

P 43, l 5 **Wharton.**—Thomas Wharton, Marquis of Wharton (1640–1715), was one of those who joined the Prince of Orange on his

first landing He was Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland in 1708, and Lord Privy Seal in 1714

P. 43, l. 7 **Mal sbury**.—Malmesbury is a small borough in Wiltshire, twenty miles north of Bath, near two small tributaries of the Avon

P. 43, ll. 24, 25 **Talbot, ussell, . . . ent' ek**.—The family names of the Dukes of Somerset, Bedford, and Portland.

P. 43, l. 27 **Chatha or Fox**.—William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, the great English orator and statesman (1708–1778). He first distinguished himself by his vigorous and successful opposition to Sir Robert Walpole. He was Paymaster-General, 1746–1755, Secretary of State, 1756, and again from 1757–1761, when he was virtually Prime Minister, so that Macaulay's statement is, in his case, only technically true. It was to the extraordinary vigour and skill with which he directed the operations of the war against France both by land and by sea during these four years that England owes a large part of her colonial possessions. In 1772 he advocated measures for the relief of Dissenters, and from 1774 till his death he never ceased to urge the abandonment of coercion against the American colonies, and conciliation with America after the war broke out. He was a great Liberal Imperialist.

Charles James Fox (1749–1806), contemporary and rival of the younger Pitt, was a son of the first Lord Holland, and was a distinguished Whig orator and statesman. That he never became Prime Minister was due mainly to the dissipated habits and the love of gambling which characterised his private life and undermined his health. Like Chatham, he vigorously opposed the measures which provoked the War of American Independence. He took an active part in the prosecution of Warren Hastings, and in defending the right of the Prince of Wales to be made Regent when George III. became insane; in the latter case private friendship influenced his action rather than political principles, for he had been a boon companion of the Prince. When the French Revolution broke out, he became an extravagant supporter of revolutionary doctrines, and caused a deep schism in the Whig party, the moderate members of which followed Burke in repudiating principles entirely incompatible with the British Constitution and with the temper of the British nation. The later years of his life were passed in retirement, except for a few months in 1806, the year of his death. He was a man of very lovable character, in spite of his weaknesses, but lacking in ballast as a statesman.

P. 43, l. 33 Fragmentary and inaccurate reportings began in 1771, correct reportings about 1834

P. 44, l. 2 **The Conduct of the Allies**.—A political tract published in December 1711 by Swift in support of Harley's administration

P. 44, l. 3 **The Freeholder**.—See note on p. 29, l. 1.

P. 44, l. 8 **Thirty thousand**.—He might now have said 300,000, and still have been under the mark.

P. 44, l 10 **Antr' and Aberdeenshire.**—Counties in the north-east of Ireland and of Scotland, respectively, i.e. in the remotest parts of the British Islands. Macaulay's style gains its picturesqueness largely from his persistent application of the belief in the superiority which 'the particular has over the general.'

P. 44, l 18 **Triennial parlia ents.**—The duration of Parliament was limited to three years by the Triennial Act, 1694. The Act was repealed and the Septennial Act passed in 1716.

P. 44, l 20. **r. Pitt.**—William Pitt the Younger, son of the Earl of Chatham (1759–1806). He became Prime Minister first, at the age of twenty-four, in 1783, and exercised almost as great an ascendancy over Parliament and the nation for nearly twenty years as his father had done. He was sung as 'the pilot that weathered the storm' by grateful patriots over their cups for the firmness of his resistance to Napoleon's designs of universal domination. Like his father, he was a Liberal Imperialist statesman, and passed many beneficial measures of conciliation, consolidation, and reform, including the invaluable and unjustly abused Act of Union with Ireland. The defeat of the Allies at Austerlitz broke his heart, and he died in a dark hour for the fortunes of his country, but his policy lived after him and conquered. He was a great and disinterested patriot, whose only failing was a weakness for wine.

P. 44, l 21 **Walpole and Pulteney.**—Sir Robert Walpole, first Lord Orford (1676–1745), was a Whig statesman and a 'peace' Minister. He became Secretary at War in 1705, and Whig leader of the House of Commons in 1708. When the Tories came into power under Harley and St. John, he was in 1711 found guilty of corruption by a vote of the House and expelled. He was re-elected, but the House declared the election void. In 1714 he became Paymaster-General, and, later, Prime Minister till 1717. From 1721 to 1742 he was again Prime Minister, and maintained a consistent peace policy during the whole period of twenty-one years, in spite of much obloquy and agitation for war against Spain.

William Pulteney (pronounced Pöitney), Earl of Bath (1682–1764), was Secretary at War under Walpole (1714–1717), but during Walpole's second administration he passed into bitter opposition, and was one of the main instruments of Walpole's downfall in 1742. But after that date, as Lord Chesterfield put it, 'he sank into insignificance and an earldom'. He was Prime Minister for two days in 1742, and was again sent for in 1746, but failed to form a Ministry.

Walpole resembled Pitt in a certain dogged steadfastness of purpose, but fell immeasurably below him in all other respects. Pulteney resembled Fox only in lack of moral ballast and in the vigour of his invectives. The comparison is a somewhat superficial one.

P. 44, l 27. **Grub Street.**—A street near Moorfields, in London, which was the resort of needy writers in the eighteenth century, now called Milton Street. The first mention of Grub Street occurs in Andrew

Marvell, 'The Rehearsal transposed' (1672) Garth alludes to the cheap bookstalls of Moorfields Cf Pope, 'Dunciad,' i 44.

'Sepulchral lies our holy walls to grace,
And New Year odes, and all the Grub-street race'

P 44, l 31 **The Craftsman**.—A political periodical, to which Henry St John, Viscount Bolingbroke, was a frequent contributor under the name of 'Humphrey Oldcastle' He wrote a series of 'Letters upon the History of England,' and a 'Dissertation upon Parties' in it It was the organ of the party opposed to Walpole

P 44, l 35 **St. John**.—Henry St John, Viscount Bolingbroke (1678-1751), was a distinguished writer and Tory politician, and an intimate friend of Swift and Pope He was Secretary at War, 1704-1708, and Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in 1710, he was, in 1713, mainly instrumental in bringing about the Peace of Utrecht, which closed the long French war The peace was violently attacked by the Whigs of that day and by many writers of the last century, but it is worth noting that Sismondi, the eminent Italian historian, remarks 'The Tory Ministers . . . exhibited in the restoration of peace to the world a comprehension of European politics, a wisdom, a moderation, and a masterly adroitness, which triumphed over the weakness of their sovereign, the animosities of their allies, and the blindness of the English people' The death of Queen Anne in 1714 was a death-blow to Bolingbroke's plans, for he had quarrelled with his former Tory ally, Harley, and he had to escape to France in disguise He was impeached and attainted in his absence, and joined the Old Pretender, James Stuart In 1723 he was allowed to return to England, but did not recover his estates till 1742, after the fall of Walpole, whom he had attacked most vigorously with his pen in the *Craftsman* He was an admirable stylist, but without profundity of thought either as a politician, or as a philosopher, or as a deist The crudeness and superficiality of Pope's 'Essay on Man,' the argument of which is said to have been supplied by Bolingbroke, whom Pope admired extravagantly, are an illustration of the value of the literary edifice that is 'built upon the sand' Bolingbroke's own works, of which the 'Idea of a Patriot King' (1749) was the most celebrated, are now almost entirely forgotten

P 45, l 8 **is cassock and his pudding sleeves**.—I.e. his profession as a clergyman The cassock is the long black clerical coat, buttoned over the breast, with a broad sash round the waist, worn by High Church Anglican clergymen The 'pudding-sleeves' are the large loose sleeves of the cassock Cf Swift, 'Baucis and Philemon'.

'He sees, yet hardly can believe,
About each arm a pudding-sleeve,
His waistcoat to a cassock grew'

P. 45, l 31 **It propitiated emesis.**—In Greek mythology it was the function of the goddess Nemesis to keep mortals in due subordination to the immortal gods by punishing any excess of prosperity among mortal men, especially if undeserved, by a reverse of fortune. Thus the victorious Agamemnon, in Æschylus's tragedy, deprecates the extravagant honours paid to him by his faithless wife Clytemnestra on his return from Troy as liable to provoke Nemesis. The notion of this 'jealousy' of the gods is by no means extinct. Not many years ago, on a wet August bank holiday, an excursionist was heard to remark. 'Seems as if God A'mighty didn't like to see folks too happy'

P. 46, l 2 **ary ontague.**—Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1690–1762) was the most celebrated literary lady of her day. She was the daughter of the Duke of Kingston, and married Addison's friend, Edward Wortley Montagu, whom she accompanied on his embassy to Constantinople in 1716. From the Turkish capital she wrote the series of lively 'Letters' to Pope, Addison, and other literary celebrities which have rendered her famous. Her friendship with Pope was turned into the bitterest enmity by a wound to his vanity, and he subsequently attacked her in his most venomous and scurrilous style.

P. 46, l 7. **Stella.**—Esther Johnson, whom Swift, according to some accounts, married privately in 1716, and to whom he wrote his most intimate letters. For a touching account of her relations to Swift see Thackeray's 'English Humourists'—'Swift.' She was an illegitimate daughter of Sir William Temple, in whose house Swift first met her.

P. 46, l 9 **Steele.**—Sir Richard Steele (1671/1672–1729) was the lifelong friend and admirer of Addison, with whom he had been at school at Charterhouse. He was the originator both of the *Tatler* and of the *Spectator*, though his contributions were, in the judgment of the time, entirely overshadowed by those of Addison. Of late, however, there has been a tendency to revert to the judgment of Hazlitt, the famous critic of the early nineteenth century, who thought that Steele was 'upon the whole a less artificial and more original writer' than Addison, praised without stint the naturalness and intensity of his pathos, and admitted that he found Steele's writings a never-failing tonic when his spirits were depressed. Apart from his essays in the *Tatler*, *Spectator*, and *Guardian*, Steele's best-known works were his 'Christian Hero,' and his comedy, 'The Tender Husband.' His works were often in contrast with his life, for he was not unfrequently sinning and then 'crying "peccavi" with the most sonorous orthodoxy,' as Thackeray expresses it. But he was honest, chivalrous, and tender-hearted, and has won the love of his readers in after-times almost as thoroughly as he won the affections of the men and women of his own day. See Introduction, ix 3.

P. 46, l 12 **Terence and Catullus.**—For Catullus see note on p 8, l 31. Publius Terentius Afer, the celebrated Roman writer of comedies, was born at Carthage in Africa about 195 B C, and came as

a boy to Rome, where he lived as the slave of a senator named Terentius Lucanus, who educated him and gave him his freedom. He adapted the comedies of Menander and other Greek comic writers to the Roman stage in singularly pure Latin. He had charm of style, a refined decorousness of manner, and an admirable realism in his delineation of character, without much invention, variety, or dramatic force, in all of which he was inferior to Plautus. He died in Greece about 158 B C

P 46, l 14 **Young.**—Edward Young (1684–1741), a moral poet, celebrated in the eighteenth century, and even later, for his ‘Night Thoughts,’ which is now quite unread. It has a few good lines, but is a dreary production

P 46, ll 24, 25 **Set a presu ing d ce right.**—I e. to correct some concerted and ignorant fellow

P. 46, ll. 25, 26 **Assented with civil leer.**—I e. pretended to agree, in a vein of polite irony, quoted from the famous lines of Pope, published after Addison’s death, in which he vented his spleen on Addison:

‘And were there one whose fires
True genius kindles and fair fame inspires,
Blest with each talent and each art to please,
And born to write, converse, and live with ease,
Should such a man, too fond to rule alone,
Bear like the Turk no brother near the throne,
View him with scornful yet with jealous eyes,
And hate, for arts that caused himself to rise,
Damn with faint praise, *assent with civil leer*,
And, without sneering, teach the rest to sneer,
Willing to wound, and yet afraid to strike,
Just hint a fault, and hesitate dislike,
Ahke reserved to blame as to commend,
A timorous foe and a suspicious friend,
Dreading e’en fools, by flatterers besieged,
And so obliging that he ne’er obliged
Like Cato give his little senate laws,
And sit attentive to his own applause,
While wits and templars every sentence raise,
And wonder with a foolish face of praise,
Who but must laugh, if such a man there be?
Who would not weep if Atticus were he?’

—Pope, Prologue to the ‘Satires,’ 193–215.

See note on p 86, l 35.

P 46, l. 28 **The Tatler.**—See note above on line 9, and the introductory portion of Thackeray’s lecture on Steele, ‘English Humourists.’ It was a periodical, edited by Steele, which appeared three times a week, every Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday, at the modest price of a penny. It ran for 271 numbers, from 1709 to 1711, Addison contributing forty-one papers of his own, besides thirty-four in which he

collaborated with Steele. The *Tatler* represented an immense advance on any of the previous society journals and humorous publications, such as the *British Apollo*, or the *London Spy*. One of its main aims was 'to bring philosophy out of closets and libraries, schools and colleges, to dwell in clubs and assemblies, at tea-tables and in coffee-houses.' Steele founded the 'Tatler's Club' at the Trumpet tavern in Shire Lane, near Temple Bar, where he was himself an oracle, like Addison at Button's. There is an amusing description of the club in the *Tatler*, No 132.

P. 46, l 29 *Mr. Softly's* so et.—The sonnet and the criticism appeared in the *Tatler*, No. 163, of April 25, 1710. The effeminate poetaster to whom, of all impertinencies, there was nothing so hateful as news, and who never troubled his head about the British armies, whether they won or lost, is amusingly described. 'Ned Softly is a very pretty poet, and a great admirer of easy lines. Waller is his favourite and as that admirable writer has the best and the worst verses of any among our English poets, Ned Softly has got all the bad ones without book . . ' The sonnet runs :

TO MIRA ON HER INCOMPARABLE POEM

I

When dress'd in laurel wreaths you shine,
And tune your soft melodious notes,
You seem a sister of the Nine,
Or Phœbus' self in petticoats

II

I fancy, when your song you sing,
(Your song you sing with so much art)
Your pen was pluck'd from Cupid's wing,
For ah ! it wounds me like his dart'

The criticism which follows is in Addison's best vein of delicate humour, but is too long to quote here

P 46, l 29 *The Spectator's* dialogue, &c.—The *Spectator*, No 568, of July 16, 1714, contains the dialogue, which is based upon Addison's humorous parody of the sort of libellous paragraphs that appeared in other periodicals ; the parody was published in the preceding number, and is full of asterisks and dashes, after the manner of 'Tom Brown' and the *London Spy*. The 'overwise' politician pretends to know who are meant by 'Lady Q—p—t—s,' 'Monsieur Z—n,' and other unnuanced persons, and to be highly indignant at the libels

P 47, l 3 *St. Paul's* Covent Garden.—The church, of the Tuscan order of architecture, was built by Inigo Jones, but the design was spoilt by the unfortunate site between two thoroughfares, King Street and Henrietta Street. The parish of St Paul's was the fashionable place of residence in the latter half of the seventeenth century, and in Queen Anne's day. In the churchyard were buried Samuel Butler, Bishop Warburton, Sir Peter Lely, Grinling Gibbons, the poet John

Armstrong, the actors Kynaston and Macklin, and many other celebrities, within the parish lived at one time or other Butler, Addison, Steele, Otway, Dryden, Pope, Fielding, and Dr Johnson, Lely, Kneller, and Hogarth

P 47, l 13 *excess*.—See note on p 5, l 23, and Introduction, viii 5

P 47, l 15 *Peccadilloes*.—From the Spanish *pecadillo*, a trifling fault, a diminutive of *pecado*, a sin or offence, Latin *peccatum*, from *peccare*, to sin

P 47, ll 19, 20 *Of any other statesman or writer, &c.*—This is rather too sweeping, there were even in Queen Anne's day some sober statesmen and writers—Lord Somers, for example, and Pope, and Swift

P 48, l 2 *oswell, Warburton, Hurd*.—James Boswell (1740–1795), a small landowner in Scotland, was the lifelong admirer and friend of Dr Johnson, and author of the immortal biography, of the 'Journal of the Tour in the Hebrides,' and of 'An Account of Corsica, with Memoirs of General Paoli' He was a vain, weak man, of considerable ability, and an acute observer See note on p 18; l 32

William Warburton Bishop of Gloucester (1698–1779), was a prolific writer of theological works and of literary criticism, including a 'Vindication of Mr Pope's "Essay on Man,"' and an editor of Shakespeare

Richard Hurd, Bishop of Lichfield and afterwards of Worcester (1720–1808), was also a prolific writer, best known for his 'Dialogues, Moral and Political' He was the friend and biographer of Warburton

P 48, l 7 *Coterie*.—A French word meaning 'association,' 'society,' 'club'

P 48, l 8 *ustace udgell*.—He was, or said he was, a distant cousin of Addison, who took him with him to Ireland as one of his clerks and procured him the post of Secretary to Lord Wharton, the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland Budgell was a man of some literary ability, and contributed papers to the *Tatler*, the *Spectator*, and the *Guan-dian*, besides writing a family history of the Boyles and a translation of the 'Characters' of the Greek writer Theophrastus He lost all his money in the South Sea speculation and committed suicide in 1736, at the age of fifty-one, by throwing himself into the Thames, after a vain endeavour to save his position by forgery He is said to have left behind him a note, written on a scrap of paper, on which he had written, 'What Cato did, and Addison approved, cannot be wrong' See note on p 27, l 3 Cato was a Stoic, Addison was a Christian, and would certainly not have approved of his cousin's act of self-murder. The Stoics justified suicide in certain cases, but the loftiest of Greek philosophers, Plato, expressly condemned it as a desertion in face of the enemy

P 48, l 9 *Templar of so e literature*.—I.e. a barrister of some literary ability The word 'templar' is thus used in Pope's satirical character of Addison, quoted above at p 46, l 25 'Two of the

Inns of Court, societies of barristers, are situated in the Temple—the Inner Temple and the Middle Temple. The Temple was originally inhabited by the Knights Templars, the military order founded by Baldwin II, King of Jerusalem, to protect pilgrims. They came to England about 1185. On the suppression of the Order about 1312 the Temple was acquired by purchase by the men of the law.

P 48, ll 23, 24 **Ambrose Philipps**.—Ambrose Philips (1671–1749) was the author of ‘Pastorals’ and of several tragedies, of which ‘The Distressed Mother’ was the best. Pope criticised the ‘Pastorals’ severely in the *Guardian*, and Thackeray has characterised him as ‘a serious and dreary idyllic Cockney’. Through Addison’s interest he became successively Commissioner of Collieries, Secretary to the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and Registrar of the Irish Prerogative Court. The word ‘namby-pamby’ means ‘fimcking,’ pretty without strength.

P. 48, l 27 **The little senate**.—Addison’s followers. See note on p 46, l 25.

P 48, l 28 **Richard Steele and Thomas Tickell**.—For Steele see note, p 46, l 9.

Thomas Tickell (1686–1740), another contributor to the *Spectator*, was a Fellow of Queen’s College, Oxford, and translated the first book of Homer’s ‘Iliad’, he also wrote some original poems of little merit. Through Addison’s influence he became Under-Secretary of State and Secretary to the Lords Justices of Ireland. He was one of Addison’s most intimate friends, and wrote his best poem on Addison’s death.

P 48, l 34 **The philosopher’s stone**.—The substance which the old alchemists believed to exist and to be capable of changing baser metals into gold. Their continual fruitless experiments in search of this supposed substance led to many incidental discoveries of importance.

P. 49, l 2 **In sinning and repenting**.—A picturesque exaggeration. Cf. note on p 46, l 9.

P 49, ll 3, 4 **In speculation**.—I.e. theoretically.

P. 49, l 5 **Was such of the rake**.—I.e. had a good deal of the libertine, or man of dissolute life, in his composition.

P. 49, ll 8, 9 **Diced himself into a spunging-house**.—I.e. gambled his money away and got arrested for debt. A spunging-house was a lock-up or place of temporary detention for debtors. Macaulay has exaggerated the extent and the frequency of Steele’s failings.

P 49, l 17 **ickerings**.—Not downright quarrels, but petty verbal disputes.

P. 49, l 19 **y the help of a bailiff**.—I.e. he recovered the debt due to him by arresting the goods of the debtor in pursuance of the judgment of a court. It was a loan of £1000 to build a house. Addison instructed his solicitors to recover the debt by selling the house and furniture, and told Steele he had done so.

P 49, l 20 **Savage**.—Richard Savage (1698–1743), a dissolute man

of genius, was a natural son of Earl Rivers. His best known work was his tragedy, 'Sir Thomas Overbury'; he died in a debtors' prison. Dr Johnson, who included Savage in his 'Lives of the Poets,' remarked that the poet's career was a lamentable proof that 'negligence and irregularity, long continued, will make knowledge useless, wit ridiculous, and genius contemptible.'

P. 49, l. 31. **Fielding's Amelia.**—Henry Fielding (1707-1754), though not the first, was the greatest English novelist of the eighteenth century. His best and most famous novel was 'Tom Jones,' published 1749, but no character in any other novel of his is so charming as Amelia, the heroine of his novel of that name, whose portrait he drew from his own wife, Thackeray, indeed, goes so far as to call her 'the most charming character in English fiction.'

P. 49, l. 32. **Takes in execution, &c.**—See note above on line 19.

P. 50, l. 3. **The real history.**—To construct what appears to him a highly probable fiction, and to offer it to his readers as if it were a well-authenticated fact, is a process not unknown to Macaulay the historian as well as to Macaulay the essayist.

P. 50, ll. 9, 10. **The Twelve Cæsars.**—The first twelve Roman emperors from Julius Cæsar to Domitian. The intervening emperors are commonly known as Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, Nero, Galba, Otho, Vitellius, Vespasian, and Titus. Domitian was assassinated A.D. 81.

P. 50, ll. 10, 11. **Bayle's Dictionary.**—Pierre Bayle (1647-1706), a French Jesuit who reverted to Protestantism, was Professor of Philosophy at Sedan, and afterwards Professor of Philosophy and History at Rotterdam. His great work, the 'Historical and Critical Dictionary,' was completed in 1697, and was written in French. Many subsequent editions of it appeared, including that of 1710.

P. 50, l. 11. **buckles.**—I.e. the silver shoe-buckles then worn by gentlemen.

P. 50, l. 26. **The rival bulls in Virgil.**—The allusion is to Virgil, 'Georgics,' iii. 219-224 and 235-237, or 'Æneid,' xii. 715-723, in both of which passages Virgil describes the fights of two rival bulls.

P. 50, l. 27. **Wharton.**—See note on p. 43, l. 5.

P. 51, l. 1. **Jobbers.**—Macaulay means men who make a profit for themselves or their friends out of public transactions, more especially by the bestowal of State patronage on unfit persons for reasons of private interest.

P. 51, l. 11. **Cavan.**—The chief town of County Cavan in Ulster, Cavan is an inland county bordering on Leinster.

P. 51, l. 19. **Gerard Hamilton.**—William Gerard Hamilton (1729-1796), known as 'Single-speech Hamilton' from a great first speech which he made in the House of Commons on November 13, 1755, was a politician of some note in his day, and Chancellor of the Exchequer in Ireland for over twenty years.

P. 52, l 3 **Love, casuistry.**—I.e. subtle points of ethics arising from the relations between lovers and the ladies of their affections.

P. 52, l 7 **Gazetteer.**—Manager of the *Gazette*, i.e. the *London Gazette*, the first official newspaper published in England, which began in 1665. Steele alludes humorously to his office in No. 18 of the *Tatler*: 'the ingenious fraternity of which I have the honour to be an unworthy member; I mean the news-writers of Great Britain, whether post-men or post-boys,' &c.

P. 52, l 17 **Will's and the Grecian.**—See note on p 14, l 29. Will's coffee-house was in Russell Street, Covent Garden, opposite Button's. It was so called after the proprietor, William Urwin, and was the great resort of wits, owing to Dryden's patronage. Literary criticism and lampoons were the two specialties of Will's. Unlike most other coffee-houses, Will's was by custom exclusive, and it was considered an impertinent intrusion for any outsider to enter it without an introduction from one of the regular frequenters. During his lifetime the best seat was reserved for Dryden, by the fireplace in winter, at the corner of a balcony looking over the street in the summer.

The Grecian coffee-house was in Devereux-court, Strand, near the Temple, and was so called after a Greek, named Constantine, who kept it. It was the resort of men of the law and men of learning, being frequented by Sir Isaac Newton and other Fellows of the Royal Society. At a later date it was a favourite haunt of Oliver Goldsmith.

P. 52, l 19. **asquinades.**—Satirical epigrams or lampoons; so called after an Italian cobbler, named Pasquino, of the fifteenth century who had a caustic tongue. After his death a headless statue, which had been dug up near his shop, was called Pasquino after him, and lampoons were affixed to it by night. Hence the name 'pasquinado.'

P. 52, l 27 **Rake among scholars, &c.**—See note on p 49, l 5.

P. 52, l 33 **body.**—When applied to wine, the word signifies strength, both alcoholic and saccharine. The longer a wine is kept, the more it loses both its alcoholic strength and its sugary matter; thus a light wine, with little 'body,' can only be kept a short time before it begins to turn into vinegar.

P. 52, l 35. **Isaac Ickersta.**—This was the name assumed by Steele as editor of the *Tatler*. It had already become a household word through Swift's assumption of it in his humorous controversy with Partridge the almanac-maker. See note, p 46, l. 9.

P. 52, l 36. **Saul Pry.**—A meddling busybody in the comedy of that name published by John Poole, the dramatist, in 1825.

P. 52, l 37 **Saul Pickwick.**—The chief character in Charles Dickens's humorous novel, published in 1836, 'The Posthumous Papers of the Pickwick Club.'

P. 54, ll 20, 21 **Across St. George's Channel.**—In 1709 Addison was Chief Secretary to the Marquis of Wharton at Dublin.

P. 54, l 32. **Temple.**—Sir William Temple, statesman and man of

letters (1628–1700), was frequently employed as a diplomatist on foreign missions between 1655 and 1671, and was ambassador to Holland from 1674 to 1679, when he became Secretary of State for a short time. See notes on Boyle, p 13, l 17, and on Swift, p 14, l 16. Temple was an early patron of Swift, who rushed into the Boyle and Bentley controversy—on the wrong side—in defence of Sir Wilham, with his witty ‘Battle of the Books,’ and edited the great man’s ‘Letters’ after his death. Temple’s style has been characterised by Charles Lamb as ‘plain, natural chit-chat’.

P 54, l 36 **Horace Walpole.**—Horace Walpole (1717–1797), fourth Earl of Orford, was the youngest son of Sir Robert Walpole. He was a prolific writer on a great variety of subjects, his best known works were his romance, ‘The Castle of Otranto,’ which has been called ‘the parent of the modern novel’, his ‘Letters,’ which Byron styled ‘incomparable’, and his tragedy, ‘The Mysterious Mother,’ which Byron praised as ‘a tragedy of the highest order,’ though it is now quite forgotten. See Macaulay’s essay on ‘Walpole’s Letters to Sir Horace Mann’ for a judgment very different from Byron’s: ‘None but an unhealthy and disorganised mind could have produced such literary luxuries as the works of Horace Walpole. His mind was a bundle of inconsistent whims and affections. He played innumerable parts and over-acted them all.’ As to his ‘half-French style,’ Horace Walpole was saturated with French literature, and sometimes expressed himself in phrases and idioms which were French rather than English.

P 54, l 36 **The half Latin style of Dr. Johnson.**—Dr Johnson’s formal style was Latin both in its predilection for balanced antithetical sentences and in its diction, which was highly Latinised. In speech, and in some of his writings where strong feeling inspired him, he could use terse, simple, and vigorous English. An amusing illustration, cited by Macaulay, of translation into ‘Johnsonese,’ as the doctor’s formal style has been called, is his utterance, ‘It has not life enough to keep it sweet,’ changed, after a moment’s pause, into ‘It has not vitality enough to preserve it from putrefaction.’

P 54, l 37 **The half German jargon, &c.**—The allusion is to the style of Thomas Carlyle (1795–1881), essayist, historian, and philosopher, who was as much steeped in German as Horace Walpole in French literature. This ‘jargon,’ which has been called ‘Carlylese,’ is at its worst in ‘Sartor Resartus’ and in ‘The French Revolution.’

P 55, ll 1, 2, **As a moral satirist, &c.**—This judgment requires some qualification, for Addison’s satire has a deliberately limited range. He is moved by no fierce righteousness of indignation to lash vice, as a rule, he lets vice severely alone. His satire is for the most part confined, like that of Horace, to exposing with sly humour the foibles, vanities, and ignorant prejudices of mankind.

P 55, l 5 **Menander.**—Of this celebrated Greek writer of comedies (B.C. 342–291) only a few fragments have come down to us. See note on Terence, p 46, l 12.

P 55, l 6 **Wit, properly so called.**—In his ‘Essay concerning Human Understanding,’ Locke says ‘Wit lies in the assemblage of ideas, and putting those together with quickness and variety, wherein can be found any resemblance or congruity, thereby to make up pleasant pictures and agreeable visions in the fancy.’ ‘True wit,’ as G W Greene observes, ‘is more or less wit, as *this likeness in ideas is more surprising and unexpected*. But as true wit is nothing else but a similitude in ideas, so is false wit the similitude in words.’

P 55, l 7 **Cowley or utler.**—Abraham Cowley (1618–1667) was a scholarly poet, not without genius, but his ingenuity led him astray into a wilderness of false taste and far-fetched conceits. Less than a century later, though he spoke of his ‘*pointed wit*’ and praised ‘the language of his heart,’ Pope was able to ask, ‘Who now reads Cowley?’ and Cowper, at the end of the eighteenth century, lamented his ‘*splendid wit*, entangled in the cobwebs of the schools’.

Samuel Butler (1600–1680) was the author of the witty satire on the Presbyterians and Independents entitled ‘*Hudibras*,’ which was the delight of the Cavaliers of the Restoration period. Charles II is said to have carried a copy of it about with him, but he allowed the poet to starve. In spite of its wit, the satire is now tedious reading, it is too long-drawn-out, and is occasionally coarse. Macaulay has elsewhere praised Butler for the wit and learning which, unlike Cowley, ‘he knew how to use,’ and for his ‘great command of good homely English’.

P 55, ll 8, 9 **Lines to Sir Godfrey Kneller.**—This is one of the best of Addison’s minor poems, except for the last six lines, it is easy and felicitous throughout. It is written on a portrait of George I, painted by Kneller, of which Addison says

‘Thou, Kneller, long with noble pride,
The foremost of thy art, hast vied
With nature, in a generous strife,
And touch’d the canvas into life’

Sir Godfrey Kneller (1646–1723) was the most popular portrait-painter of his day, he was a good draughtsman and colourist, lacking in imagination. He was the constant butt of the wits of his day owing to his extravagant conceit. Gay wrote of him.

‘Kneller, amid the triumph, bears his part,
Who could (were mankind lost) a new create
What can the extent of his vast soul confine?
A painter, critic, engineer, divine?’

The allusion was to a trick of Pope’s, who said one day to him ‘Sir Godfrey, I believe if God Almighty had your assistance, the world would have been formed more perfect.’ ‘Fore God,’ replied Kneller, ‘I believe so.’

P 55, l 15 **entitle him to the rank of a great poet.**—This is a misuse of language. A great poet Addison neither was nor could have been,

an original and inventive prose romancer is not necessarily a poet. The great poet is one 'who makes, and knows, and feels, and *sings*.' Of these four requisites—creative imagination, knowledge, intense sensibility, and the gift of musical utterance in verse—Addison had only the first in any considerable measure, his knowledge was great only in two directions, classical poetry and what is called 'knowledge of the world'; he was too calm and equable in temperament to be carried much beyond himself by deep feeling of any kind, in poetry he had neither the sure choice of the 'inevitable' word nor a good ear for the magical harmonies of sound. His rhyming is sometimes atrocious.

P. 55, l. 21 **Clarendon**.—Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon (1608–1674), was a celebrated royalist statesman and historian. He was made Chancellor of the Exchequer and a Privy Councillor in 1643, and shared Prince Charles's exile in Holland after the collapse of the king's cause. After the Restoration he became Lord Chancellor, and held the balance even between popular rights and the royal prerogative, but he became unpopular, lost the favour of Charles II, and was impeached and exiled. His daughter Anne married the Duke of York, afterwards James II, so that he was the grandfather of two English sovereigns, Anne and Mary. His 'History of the Rebellion,' entertaining and lively in its character-drawing, is not only partial, but very inaccurate as to its facts. He wrote professedly as an apologist for the royal cause.

P. 55, l. 25 **Cervantes**.—Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra (1547–1616) was the author of the famous romance, 'Don Quixote.' He was a Spaniard of good family, and a gallant soldier as well as a great writer. He served in the army with distinction for many years, was three times wounded, and lost the use of one arm at the battle of Lepanto in 1571, and was for five years a captive of the Moors in Algeria. In the gift of humour he was, perhaps, the only equal of Shakespeare in European literature. The age of chivalry died with the publication of 'Don Quixote,' in which he extinguished the ridiculous romances of love and war which were still popular, though the ideas which they represented had long become obsolete, by delicate railery and immutable humour.

P. 55, l. 37. **Voltaire**.—François Marie Arouet de Voltaire (1694–1778) was the most celebrated Frenchman of letters in the eighteenth century. He was a poet, a dramatist, an historian, an essayist, and a sceptical philosopher. He was 'a master of flouts and gibes,' and a persistent enemy of Christianity. Carlyle's 'Frederick the Great' contains a very full and fair account of his life and of his genius.

P. 56, l. 10. **The dean**.—He was Dean of St Patrick's, Dublin, and was often spoken of simply as 'the Dean,' just as the Duke of Wellington in his later years was 'the Duke.'

P. 56, l. 13. **The excommunication service**.—A service read in English churches on Ash Wednesday, in which commination, or denunciation of the wrath of God against sinners, is uttered in a series of sentences beginning 'Cursed is he that . . .'

P 56, l. 18 *e ure*.—French *de mœurs*, having (good) manners or morals; *mœurs* being from Latin *mores*, manners, morals, character. The sense here is 'affectedly grave,' and might be represented also in modern English by 'decorous' or 'highly proper.'

P. 56, l. 19. Arch.—I.e. sly, roguish, mischievous; the sense* is derived from the frequent combination of the adjective 'arch,' in the sense 'arrant,' with 'rogue' and similar words

P. 56, l. 21 *A Jack Pudding*.—I.e. a buffoon, a merry-andrew, properly, a greedy clown. So in Addison's part of No 75 of the *Tailler*. 'One might produce an affable temper out of a shrew, by grafting the mild upon the choleric, or raise a *jack pudding* from a prude, by inoculating mirth and melancholy'

P 56, l. 30 *The Abbé Coyer . . . Pansophe, &c.*—Macaulay means that Voltaire is comparatively easy to imitate; he instances the case of the Abbé Coyer, whose imitation was so exact a reproduction of Voltaire's style and mannerisms that it deceived even the members of the French Academy. The Abbé Coyer, Gabriel François Coyer, was a French Jesuit and a miscellaneous writer of the eighteenth century. The name 'Pansophe' is that of an imaginary character, and signifies the 'All-Wise.' For the Academy see note on p 22, l. 27.

P 56, l. 32. *Arbuthnot*.—Dr. John Arbuthnot (1675–1735) was a distinguished physician and a miscellaneous and satirical writer of great ability. Thackeray calls him 'one of the wisest, wittiest, most accomplished, and gentlest of mankind.' He was intimate with Swift, Pope, and Gay. Some of his satirical writings, such as 'The Art of Political Lying,' 'The History of John Bull,' 'Memoirs of P. P,' and 'Martinus Scriblerus,' had once a great vogue, and the two latter were formerly attributed to Pope

P 56, l. 37. *The World, the Connoisseur, the Mirror, the Lounger*.—These were all more or less short-lived literary periodicals of the eighteenth century. The *World* was edited by Edward Moore (1712–1757), and had a series of prose essays and sketches, to which Lord Chesterfield and Horace Walpole were contributors. It began in 1751 and appeared once a week

The Connoisseur was conducted by George Colman, the Elder, and Bonnel Thornton. It ran from 1754 to 1756, while they were both undergraduates at Oxford.

The Mirror was edited by Henry Mackenzie (1745–1831), and appeared twice a week for sixteen months in 1779–1780 at Edinburgh

The Lounger was a similar literary paper, and under the same editor as the *Mirror*, it ran nearly two years, from 1785 to 1787. It was a weekly, published at Edinburgh every Saturday

P. 58, l. 14 *The Great First Cause*.—I.e. God, as behind the 'laws of nature'

P. 58, l. 14 *The awful enigma*.—The problem of death and that which lies beyond, 'behind the veil.'

P. 58, l 18 **Mephistopheles**.—The saturnine mocker, which is Goethe's representation of the devil in his 'Faust,' 'the spirit which persistently denies' For Goethe see note on p 82, l 20

P 58, l 19 **Puck**.—In Shakespeare's 'Midsummer Night's Dream'

P. 58, l 19 **Soame Jenyns**.—Jenyns was a poet and essayist (1704–1787). Charles Lamb classes his works, with those of Hume, Gibbon, Robertson, and Beattie, as 'biblia a-biblia,' books that are no books! Burke, however, praised the purity of his English

P. 58, l 28 **Humanity**.—I.e. kindness, love of his fellow-men Cf. p 40, l 33

P 59, l 3 **Bettesworth**.—Mr. Serjeant Bettesworth was a notable Dublin lawyer whom Swift lampooned as 'the booby Bettesworth' The Serjeant, vowing vengeance, presented himself at the Deanery and said, 'Sir, I am Serjeant Bettesworth' 'In what regiment, pray?' asked Swift (Thackeray, 'English Humourists')

P 59, l 3 **Franc de Pompignan**.—Jean Jacques le Franc de Pompignan (1709–1784), French marquis and poet, published a poem on Dido in 1754 In 1760 he was elected a member of the Academy, and in his inaugural speech defended Christianity against the attacks of the French philosophers This speech drew on him the savage satires of Voltaire and others

P 59, l 6 **Scurrility**.—Coarse abuse, Latin, from *scurra*, a buffoon.

P 59, l 8 **To return railing for railing**.—From the first epistle of Peter, iii 9 'Not rendering railing for railing, but contrariwise blessing'

P. 59, l. 14 **Jeremy Collier**.—A High Church bishop and non-juror (1650–1726), who in 1698 was courageous enough to attack all the most celebrated dramatists of the day, for the profanity and indecency of their plays, in his 'Short View of the Profaneness and Immorality of the English Stage' He attacked with keen sarcastic wit, as well as with sound argument and righteous indignation Congreve, Vanbrugh, and others replied, but even the wits were forced to own that the parson had the best of the argument—and of the wit Dryden, the greatest of those who were attacked and one of the worst offenders, acknowledged the justice of Collier's charges and reproaches Cf note on line 28 below.

P 59, l 15 **therege**.—Sir George Etherege (1636–1694), one of the most profligate dramatists of the Restoration period, author of 'The Man of Mode' and many other comedies

P 59, l. 16. **Wycherley**.—William Wycherley (1640–1715), of whose comedies, once in high repute, it has been observed that they are now 'quietly murned in their own corruption and profligacy' For a criticism of the Restoration comedy see Macaulay's essay on Leigh Hunt's 'Dramatic Works of Wycherley, Congreve, Vanbrugh, and Farquhar' (January 1841).

P. 59, l. 21 **Hale**.—Sir Matthew Hale (1609–1676), an honest and upright judge and a good Christian, who rose to be Chief Justice of the King's Bench. The fact, however, that he lived all through the Civil War without taking sides indicates a certain flabbiness of character, while his credulity and superstition were painfully evidenced on the bench by his sentence of death on two poor old women accused of witchcraft. He was a voluminous writer on theology, philosophy, and law.

P. 59, l. 22 **Tillotson**.—See note on p. 6, l. 32 a Whig and Low Churchman

P. 59, l. 23. **Congreve**.—See note on p. 4, l. 19

P. 59, l. 24 **Vanbrugh**.—Sir John Vanbrugh (1666–1726) was another writer of comedies, who carried into a later age the code of manners and morals of Charles II's court

P. 59, l. 28 **The greatest and most salutary, &c.**—See Introduction, ix 3. The change was not entirely effected by any one man—Addison or any other. The nation at large was never corrupted by the profligacy of the court and of the Restoration writers, which sober Tories regarded with as much disgust as Whigs, and when the Revolution vindicated many of the political principles of the Puritan party, it was natural that a moral reaction should follow in its train. Addison, no doubt, had an important share in the vindication of religion and morality, and deserves full credit for it, but so had Jeremy Collier and Richard Steele. The statement of Macaulay is only another instance of his habitual partiality and exaggeration. That Addison deliberately set himself, however, to reform the taste of his day, there is ample evidence. See *Spectator*, No. 10. 'Till I have recovered them out of that desperate state of vice and folly into which the age is fallen.'

P. 59, l. 35 **To Foho**.—In the *Tatler*, No. 158, of April 13, 1710. A just satire on pedantry, illustrated by the case of Tom Foho, 'an universal scholar, so far as the title-pages of all authors, one who has 'a greater esteem for Aldus and Elvezir than for Virgil and Horace,' and 'thinks he gives you an account of an author when he tells you the subject he treats of, the name of the editor, and the year in which it was printed.' This 'learned idiot,' as Addison calls him, is represented at the present day by a certain class of what are called 'bibliomaniacs,' collectors of rare editions of entirely worthless works which they do not even read.

P. 59, l. 36 **Ned Softly**.—See note on p. 46, l. 29

P. 59, l. 36 **The Political Upholsterer**.—*Tatler*, No. 155, of April 6, 1710. This is a very humorous account of a half-insane tradesman, who reduced himself to poverty and his family to misery by neglecting his business for the pursuit of news and the discussion of European politics, which he was too ignorant to understand.

P. 59, l. 37 **The Court of Honour**.—*Tatler*, Nos. 250 and 253, of November 14 and 23, 1710. In these two papers the constitution

of the Court of Honour is sketched and the President's inaugural address given 'I intend to sit myself in it as president, with several men of honour on my right hand, and women of virtue on my left, as my assistants' The court is for the redress of injuries and affronts not provided for by the laws of the land, such as 'short bows, cold salutations, supercilious looks, unreturned smiles, distant behaviour, or forced familiarity', it is to determine 'How far a man may brandish his cane in the telling a story, without insulting his hearer? What degree of contradiction amounts to the lie? How a man should resent another's staring and cocking a hat in his face? . . . Whether a man of honour may take a blow of his wife? with several other subtleties of the like nature' Under cover of this light railery Addison puts in a serious indictment of the absurdity and injustice of the prevailing system of duelling

P. 59, l 37 *The Thermometer of Zeal*.—This delicious piece of humour is No 220, of September 5, 1710. The church thermometer was invented in the reign of Henry VIII, 'about the time when that religious prince put some to death for owning the Pope's supremacy and others for denying transubstantiation' It was first actively employed by the Vicar of Bray, who lived to a good old age, 'having seen several successions of his neighbouring clergy either burnt or banished, without ever having left the Vicarage of Bray.' The fluid of the thermometer is compounded 'of a spirit of a red fiery colour' and of water so cold that it will 'sink through almost everything that it is put into' The marking of the thermometer is Ignorance, Persecution, Wrath, Zeal, Church, Moderation, Lukewarmness, Infidelity, Ignorance. 'The reader will observe, that the Church is placed in the middle point of the glass, between Zeal and Moderation, the situation in which she always flourishes' An experiment is then made with the thermometer in the coffee-houses. 'At St James's coffee-house, the liquor stood at Moderation, but at Will's, to my extreme surprise, subsided to the very lowest mark in the glass.' The moral of the piece is summed up in the sentence. 'Whether zeal or moderation be the point we aim at, let us keep fire out of the one, and frost out of the other.'

P. 60, l 1. *The Frozen Words*.—A story, attributed to Sir John Mandeville, of an adventure in Nova Zembla, when the frost was so intense that words uttered were frozen before they could be heard, and so remained inaudible for three weeks. 'At length, upon a turn of the wind, the air about us began to thaw Our cabin was immediately filled with a dry clattering sound, which I found afterwards to be the crackling of consonants that broke above our heads. . . . These were soon followed by syllables and short words, and at length by entire sentences, . . . so that we now heard everything that had been spoken during the whole three weeks' Of Mandeville and of another inventor of 'travellers' tales' Addison remarks with demure gravity: 'I have got into my hands . . . several manuscripts of these two eminent authors, which are filled with greater wonders than any of those they have communicated to the public;

and indeed, were they not so well attested, would appear altogether improbable. I am apt to think the ingenious authors did not publish them with the rest of their works, lest they should pass for fictions and fables: a caution not unnecessary, when the reputation of their veracity was not yet established in the world.' The piece is No 254, of November 23, 1710.

P 60, l 1 **The Memoirs of the Shilling.**—*Tatler*, No 249, of November 10, 1710. This is a lively 'dream or delirium,' in which a shilling gives an account of its various adventures.

P. 60, l. 6 **Smallridge.**—George Smallridge (1663–1719), Bishop of Bristol, 1714. His sermons were published, after his death, in 1724.

P. 60, l. 9 **Sacheverell.**—See note on p 42, l 37.

P 60, l 16 **Any five of them, &c.**—Another example of Macaulay's inveterate habit of exaggeration. Many good judges of literature have defended Steele not unsuccessfully against the disparagement of Macaulay and others. See note on p 46, l. 9.

P. 60, l 31 **In 1820.**—At Edinburgh on the acquittal of Queen Caroline, in favour of whom the popular sympathy had run very strongly all through the State trial.

P 60, l. 32. **In 1831.**—A number of riots occurred in different towns in that year, but Macaulay, no doubt, was thinking particularly of the serious Reform riots at Bristol, in which the partisans of the Ministry committed great excesses in protest against the rejection of Earl Grey's Reform Bill by the House of Lords.

P 61, l 3 **Versailles and arh.**—For Versailles see note on p 21, l 19. Marh was another palace of Louis XIV, in the outskirts of Paris.

P. 61, l 4 **The Pretender.**—On the death of James II in 1701, the Jacobite party in England supported the claims of his son, James Francis Edward Stuart, who was recognised in 1701 by Louis XIV as James III. Thus James, the 'Chevalier de St George,' was known as the 'Old Pretender,' and is here meant.

P. 61, l. 5. **Harley.**—See note on p 42, l 28.

P. 61, l. 7 **Sunderland.**—See note on p 34, l 13.

P. 61, l 11 **Godolphin.**—See note on p 32, l 13.

P. 61, l 12 **To break his white staff.**—The white staff was the symbol of his office of Lord High Treasurer, hence a command to break it was a dismissal from office.

P. 61, ll 20–23 Cf p 42, l 34, and p 32, l 27. Thus 'blind and stupid ferocity' of Whig prejudice in Macaulay often, as here, defeats its own object by its very violence of language.

P. 61, l 23 **im who had roused, &c.**—I.e. Harley.

P 61, ll 29–33 It is worth remarking that Macaulay here appropriates to the Ministry all the credit for the successes which were won by the military genius of Marlborough.

P. 61, l 37. **Obloquy.**—The Ministry were blamed for unduly prolonging the war, after its object had been attained, for reasons not connected with the national interests. The majority of the people had long desired peace, and believed, whether rightly or wrongly, but certainly not without some justification, that the war was being continued unnecessarily for selfish purposes.

P. 62, l 1. **The government which, &c.**—The Ministry of Lord North (1770–1782), which brought about the disastrous war with our American colonies and their separation from Great Britain. In this administration, however, George III was really his own Prime Minister, and the great majority of the British people, who supported the war, must share the blame for all blunders in the conception or execution of that policy with the king and Lord North. See Thackeray's remarks on this subject in his lectures on 'The Four Georges': 'It was he, with the people to back him, who made the war with America. His courage was never to be beat. It trampled North under foot. It bent the stiff neck of the younger Pitt.'

P. 62, l 2. **Sent a gallant army, &c.**—The Ministry of the Duke of Portland (1807–1809) sent an expedition in July 1809 to Walcheren, an island at the mouth of the river Scheldt, Holland. A fleet of thirty-five ships of the line, with two hundred smaller vessels, was commanded by Sir Richard Strachan, and an army of 40,000 by the Earl of Chatham. The expedition took Flushing, and then subsided into inactivity from August to December, during which period heavy losses were incurred through disease. Chatham appears to have been mainly responsible for this inaction. An epigram of the day thus divided the blame:

'Lord Chatham, with his sabre drawn,
Stood waiting for Sir Richard Strachan.
Sir Richard, longing to be at 'em,
Stood waiting for the Earl of Chatham.'

P. 62, l 5. **Heavy pecuniary losses.**—Probably the fortune of £14,000, left by his brother Gulston in Madras, of which only a small part was realised. Yet it was in this year, 1711, that he bought the estate of Bilton, near Rugby, for £11,000. Mr Courthope thinks the purchase money was provided partly out of his savings while he was Irish Secretary, and partly from the profits of the *Tatler* and the *Spectator*.

P. 62, ll 8, 9. **The s all Irish o ce.**—See p 50, l 32.

P. 62, l 10. **It see s probable.**—Because fellowships were not tenable after marriage.

P. 62, l 11. **A great lady.**—The Dowager Countess of Warwick, whom he married in 1716. See notes on p 86, l 25, and p 88, l 16. It is probable that he knew her at least as early as 1708, and that she out him adrift in 1711. See Introduction, vii 6.

P. 62, l 21. **Place.**—I.e. official position.

P. 63, l 2. **The Whig Examiner.**—On August 3, 1710, appeared the first number of the Tory *Examiner*, a periodical which ably vindicated

the measures of the new Tory Ministry; Bolingbroke, Atterbury, and Prior were contributors, and Swift was a contributor from No. 13 to No. 46

The *Whig Examiner* was begun by Addison, assisted by Maynwaring, as a counterblast to the *Examiner*, but only five papers were published, from Thursday, September 14, to Thursday, October 12, 1710. 'Every reader of every party,' said Dr. Johnson, 'since personal malice is past, and the Papers which once inflamed the nation are read only as effusions of wit, must wish for more of the Whig Examiners; for on no occasion was the genius of Addison more vigorously exerted, and on none did the superiority of his wit more evidently appear'

P. 63, l 17 **A** brose Phillipps.—See note on p 48, l 23

P. 63, l. 25 **Ar** istice.—I.e. temporary cessation of political warfare.

P. 63, l. 26. **Isaac** ikersta .—See p. 52, l. 35

P. 64, l. 3. **pectator**.—See Introduction, vii. 4 The Spectator himself was, no doubt, drawn by Addison, and was, as Macaulay suggests, partly a portrait of the author The Club and Sir Roger de Coverley seem to have been jointly planned by Addison and Steele, the characters sketched by Steele, but elaborated and refined by Addison Of the effect produced by these papers Dugald Stewart remarked: 'While the circle of mental cultivation was thus rapidly widening in France, a similar progress was taking place, upon a larger scale, and under still more favourable circumstances, in England. To this progress nothing contributed more powerfully than the periodical papers published under various titles by Addison and his associates The effect of these in reclaiming the public taste from the licentiousness and grossness introduced into England at the period of the Restoration, in recommending the most serious and important truths by the united attractions of wit, humour, imagination, and eloquence; and, above all, in counteracting those superstitious terrors which the weak and ignorant are so apt to mistake for religious and moral impressions—has been remarked by numberless critics. . . . Some of the papers of Addison, however, are of an order still higher, and bear marks of a mind which, if early and steadily turned to philosophical pursuits, might have accomplished much more than it ventured to undertake.' The immense popularity of Addison's papers was largely due to 'the singular simplicity and perspicuity' of his style, combined with 'sentiments which are natural, without being obvious.' Of these prose writings Thackeray observes: 'It is as a Tatler of small talk and a Spectator of mankind, that we cherish and love him, and owe as much pleasure to him as to any human being that ever wrote. He came in that artificial age and began to speak with his noble natural voice He came, the gentle satirist, who hit no unfair blow, the kind judge who castigated only in smiling. . . . He poured in paper after paper, and contributed the stores of his mind, the sweet fruits of his reading, the delightful gleanings of his daily observation, with a wonderful profusion, and as it seemed an almost endless fecundity'

P. 64, l. 12-15 **Will's**.—See note on p. 52, l. 17, for Will's and the Grecian **Child's** coffee-house, the haunt of the parsons, was in St Paul's Churchyard. See *Spectator* No. 609. The **St. James's** is described in *Spectator* No. 403 as 'the fountain-head' of politics. It was at the south-west corner of St. James's Street, and was the gathering-place of Whig politicians and of officers of the Guards. It was a favourite haunt of Swift's and, later, of Goldsmith's.

P. 64, l. 16 **The exchange**.—The Royal Exchange was founded by Sir Thomas Gresham in Queen Elizabeth's reign. The original building was destroyed in the fire of 1666. It was rebuilt in 1667 and lasted till 1769. The present building dates back to 1838.

P. 64, l. 17 **The pit**.—Part of the ground floor of the auditorium of a theatre, removed a little distance from the stage. Here were the seats in which regular, but not well-to-do, theatre-goers were to be found.

P. 64, l. 17 **Drury Lane theatre**.—Coupled with the Haymarket in *Spectator* No. 1 as one of the *Spectator's* evening haunts. It had been rebuilt, after a fire, by Sir Christopher Wren and opened in 1674. The earlier building, erected in 1663, had been the scene of Nell Gwynn's stage triumphs.

P. 64, l. 21 **The Te plar**.—See note on p. 48, l. 9.

P. 64, l. 36 **Richardson**.—Samuel Richardson (1689-1761) was the first English novelist of distinction. He was a sentimentalist, and was ridiculed and burlesqued by Fielding. His chief novels were 'Pamela,' 'Clarissa Harlowe,' and 'Sir Charles Grandison.' His stories are elaborate, and, to the present age, somewhat tedious, but he had a profound knowledge of the human heart.

P. 64, l. 36 For Fielding see note on p. 49, l. 31.

P. 64, l. 37 **Smollett**.—Tobias George Smollett (1721-1771) wrote three celebrated novels, 'Roderick Random,' 'Peregrine Pickle,' and 'Humphrey Clinker,' besides a number of miscellaneous pieces in prose and verse. He also completed Hume's 'History of England.' In his novels he was a master in the art of moving laughter by ludicrous incidents; his humour was broader and coarser than Fielding's and he was less of an artist, but some of his characters are as good as any in English fiction.

P. 65, l. 6 **Prince ugene**.—See note on p. 30, l. 6.

P. 65, l. 7 **Spring Gardens**.—On the south-west side of Charing Cross, near St. James's Park, where the headquarters of the London County Council now are. This was a favourite place of amusement from Addison's day till the early years of the nineteenth century, when it was superseded by Fox-hall or Vauxhall Gardens. The amusements of Spring Gardens were 'archery, bowls, a grove of warbling birds, a pleasant yard and a pond for bathing, and a spring which supplied a concealed jet of water, which administered a shower-bath to the unwary visitor who happened to tread on a particular spot.'

P 65, l 8. **The tombs in the Abbey.**—Westminster Abbey and the tombs of the illustrious dead are the theme of *Spectator* No. 383. This is one of the best of Addison's papers of serious reflection. In his lecture on Steele in the 'English Humourists,' Thackeray has an instructive comparison of the attitude towards death of Swift, Addison, and Steele respectively. "Fools, do you know anything of this mystery?" says Swift, stamping on a grave, and carrying his scorn for mankind actually beyond it. Addison, in a much kinder language and gentler voice, utters much the same sentiment and speaks of the rivalry of wits, and the contests of holy men, with the same sceptic placidity. 'Look what a little vain dust we are,' he says, smiling over the tombstones, and catching, as is his wont, quite divine effulgence as he looks heavenward, he speaks, in words of inspiration almost, of 'the Great Day, when we shall all of us be contemporaries, and make our appearance together.' For the history of the Abbey see note on p. 98, l. 10.

P. 65, l. 8 **The ohawks.**—Bands of aristocratic ruffians, 'sons of Behal, flown with insolence and wine,' as Milton called their predecessors ('Paradise Lost,' 1 501, 502), who assaulted and sometimes murdered innocent passers-by in the streets at night—for diversion. When Milton wrote, in the Restoration period, they were known as 'Muns' and 'Tityre-Tus', the speciality of the Mohocks of Addison's day was 'tattooing,' i.e. slashing people's faces. See the *Spectator*, Nos 332, 334, and 335.

P 65, l 10 **The Distressed Mother.**—See note on p. 48, l. 23 *Spectator*, No 335

P 65, l. 11 **Coverley Hall.**—Described in *Spectator*, No 106. The family 'consists of staid and sober persons, for as the knight is the best master in the world, he seldom changes his servants, and as he is beloved by all about him, his servants never care for leaving him. You would take his valet de chambre for his brother. his butler is gray-headed; his groom is one of the gravest men that I have ever seen, and his coachman has the looks of a privy-counsellor.' The whole description of Sir Roger de Coverley and his household is delightful, and there is a characteristic touch in the qualifications that Sir Roger required in his chaplain, 'plain sense, a good aspect, a clear voice, a sociable temper, and, if possible, a man that understood a little of backgammon.'

P 65, l. 13 **Will Wimble.**—The gentlemanly idler and angler; the incident occurs in *Spectator*, No 108

P 65, l 13 **Rides to the assizes.**—*Spectator*, No 122. Tom Touchy is 'a fellow famous for taking the law of everybody. There is not one in the town where he lives that he has not sued at a quarter-sessions.

... His head is full of costs, damages, and ejections. he plagued a couple of honest gentlemen so long for a trespass in breaking one of his hedges, till he was forced to sell the ground it enclosed to defray the charges of the prosecution. his father left him fourscore pounds

a year: but he has been cast, and been cast so often, that he is not now worth thirty'

P. 65, l 15. *The death of Sir Roger*.—*Spectator*, No 517, as narrated by the good old butler. The first serious sign that things were wrong was that Sir Roger 'had lost his roast beef stomach,' 'From that time forward he grew worse and worse, but still kept a good heart to the last. Indeed we were once in great hopes of his recovery, upon a kind message that was sent him from the widow lady whom he had made love to the last forty years of his life, but this only proved a lightning before his death. . . . It was a most moving sight to see him take leave of his poor servants, commending us all for our fidelity, whilst we were not able to speak a word for weeping.'

P. 65, l 16. *Will Honeycomb*, &c.—'My friend Will Honeycomb, who was so unmercifully witty upon the women, in a couple of letters, which I lately communicated to the public, has given the ladies ample satisfaction by marrying a farmer's daughter. . . . In short, the gay, the loud, the vain Will Honeycomb who had made love to every great fortune that has appeared in town for above thirty years together, and boasted of favours from ladies whom he had never seen, is at length wedded to a plain country girl. His letter gives us the picture of a converted rake' (*Spectator*, No 530).

P. 65, l 17. *The club breaks up*.—*Spectator*, Nos. 542, 549, 550

P. 65, l 23. *Addison had written a novel*, &c.—It may be so, but it is very improbable, for Addison never demonstrated that he had the constructive faculty. The plot, if it may be called a plot at all, even of the *Spectator*, appears to have been Steele's at least as much as his, and in his 'Cato' the defects of the plot are apparent.

P. 65, l 30 *His worst essay*, &c.—See note on p 59, l 28: this is another absurd exaggeration of a similar kind.

P. 65, l 35 *o dregs in his wine*.—This is very high praise, certainly, but it really is true, there are *no bad papers* of Addison in the *Spectator*. The inexhaustible fertility of his genius in this long series was remarked by Thackeray in the passage quoted above in the note on p 64, l 3.

P. 65, l 37. *abob*.—The rich, and often vulgar, retired Anglo-Indian was a conspicuous and profoundly unpopular personage in the period from 1760 to the Mutiny. He was the butt of the satirist and lampooner, and figured in uncomplimentary fashion in Georgian and early Victorian novels.

P. 66, l 4. *Lucian's Auction of Lives*.—Lucian was a Greek satirist, a native of Samosata, a town at the foot of Mount Taurus in Syria. He was born in the reign of Trajan and died about 200 A D. His satires, mostly in the form of dialogues, were written in a lively and graceful style, and are full of wit; they are sceptical in tone and often licentious in thought and expression. He ridiculed impartially paganism and Christianity. 'In his "Auction of Philosophers,"' says Jebb, 'the gods knock down each of the great thinkers to the highest bidder,

Socrates goes for about £500, Aristotle for a fifth of that sum. . . Lucian has much in common with Swift, and more, perhaps, with Voltaire.

P. 66, l. 5 **Apologues**.—A moral fable, such as those of Æsop; from the Greek *apologos*, a tale, a fable

P. 66, l. 5. **Tales of Scherezade**.—The famous collection of tales, of Persian, Indian, and Arabian origin, known as the 'Arabian Nights' Entertainments, or 'A Thousand and one Nights' Shahrazad is the supposed narrator, daughter of the Grand Vizier of the Sultan Shahriyar.

P. 66, l. 7 **Labruyère**.—Jean de la Bruyère (1644-1696) was an eminent French prose writer, best known for his 'Characters of Theophrastus,' a lively satire on the characters and manners of his time. He also translated the 'Characters' of Theophrastus.

P. 66, ll. 8, 9. **The Vicar of Wakefield**.—The masterpiece of Oliver Goldsmith, published 1766. In this famous novel, Dr Primrose, the Vicar, his family, and their friends and neighbours, are imitatively described. The plot is somewhat melodramatic, but the simplicity, humour, and pathos of the narrative are admirable.

Oliver Goldsmith (1728-1774) was the friend, and sometimes the butt, of Dr Johnson, Burke, Reynolds, and others of that famous literary circle. He was a poet, dramatist, essayist, and miscellaneous writer. The works by which he is now best remembered are 'The Vicar of Wakefield', his comedies 'She Stoops to Conquer' and 'The Good-Natured Man'; and his poems, 'The Traveller,' 'The Hermit,' 'The Deserted Village,' and 'The Retaliation.'

P. 66, l. 9. **Sly Horatian pleasantry**.—See notes on p. 55, l. 2, and p. 11, l. 19 for the characteristics of Horace's satire. Addison, perhaps, had in mind the famous description of the Roman satirist Persius:

'Each foible Horace probes, the while his patient
Laughs with him, and he plays around our hearts,
Adept at pleasant satire of the times'

P. 66, l. 10 **Hoops, patches, or puppet-shows**.—For the hoop-petticoat see *Spectator*, Nos. 127 and 129, for patches No. 81. There is an allusion to the popularity of puppet-shows in No. 31. The religious meditations are numerous; among the best are Nos. 111, 381, 453, 459, 465, and 479.

P. 66, l. 12 **assillon**.—Jean Baptiste Massillon (1663-1742) was a famous French preacher, who became Bishop of Clermont in 1717 and was elected to the Academy in 1719. His sermons were published in 1705.

P. 66, ll. 17-20. These papers are Nos. 26, 329, 69, 317, 159, 343 and 517.

P. 66, l. 22 **His critical papers**.—E.g. Nos. 267-369 on 'Paradise Lost,' and the series entitled 'Pleasures of the Imagination,' Nos. 411-421.

P 66, l. 25 **The school.**—I.e. classicism of the strictest kind, influenced by French models and regarding Shakespeare's dramas and Gothic architecture as both alike intrinsically barbarous

P 66, l. 33. **The Æneid.**—The epic of Vergil See note on Vergil, p. 10, l. 22

P. 66, l. 33. **The Odes of orace.**—See note on p. 11, l. 19

P. 66, l. 34 **The rude dross of Chevy Chase.**—The rough, unrefined poetry of the old ballad of the border fray between the Percy and the Douglas. It has some fine and vigorous stanzas. It was of this ballad that Sidney, in his 'Apology for Poetry,' wrote 'I never heard the old story of Percie and Douglas that I found not my heart moved more than by a trumpet' The ballad is included in Percy's 'Reliques' Addison's papers on it are Nos. 70 and 74, they were fiercely attacked by John Dennis

P. 67, l. 4 **The stamp tax.**—The stamp duty of one penny on every sheet was imposed in 1712, papers of half a sheet or less, like the *Spectator*, paid only a halfpenny The price of the *Spectator* was raised from a penny to twopence in consequence of the imposition of this tax

P. 67, l. 11 **The bohea and rolls.**—I.e. at breakfast Bohea was at this time a generic name for tea, from the Chinese range of hills, called 'Woo-yē' or 'Voo yē,' in the province of Fuhkien, from which tea was first imported into England Of Pope's 'Epistle to Miss Blount'

'To part her time 'twixt reading and bohea,
To muse, and spill her solitary tea.'

P. 67, l. 21 **Knight of the shire.**—A member of Parliament for a county

P. 67, l. 22 **Farriery.**—I.e. what we now call veterinary surgery The farrier or blacksmith who shod horses was usually more or less expert in treating the ailments of horses as well

P. 67, l. 25 **Sir Walter Scott.**—See note on p. 24, l. 10.

P. 67, l. 26 **ickens.**—See note on p. 52, l. 37 'Pickwick,' 'Oliver Twist,' 'Nicholas Nickleby,' 'The Old Curiosity Shop,' 'Barnaby Rudge,' all appeared before 1843, and 'Martin Chuzzlewit' and the 'Christmas Carol' were published in that year

P. 67, l. 28 **The short-faced gentleman.**—The description seems to have been properly applied to Steele. In Nos. 17 and 19 of the *Spectator* he pleads guilty to the 'short-face,' and he was vulgarly caricatured by Dennis as 'short-faced' But when Addison writes as the *Spectator*, he sometimes appropriates the attribute to himself, as in Nos. 558 and 559

P. 67, l. 31 **The Guardian.**—See note on p. 22, l. 10.

P. 67, l. 34 **A te pest of faction.**—Party spirit ran very high over the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 and the question of the Hanoverian succession.

P 67, l 37 **Nestor Ironside and the Miss Lizards.**—Steele assumed the name of 'Nestor Ironside, Esq.' as editor of the *Guardian*. 'My Lady Lizard' and her family were also characters of Steele's invention in the *Guardian*, but they had not much life, it is instructive to contrast them with the slight, but delightfully humorous, sketch of Martha Ironside, the spinster aunt, limned by Addison's hand in No 137 of the *Guardian*

P 68, l 8 is **Cato.**—This tragedy was produced in 1713, though it had been planned many years before, when Addison was travelling in Italy, and four acts had, it is said, been written at that time. See note above, p 27, l 3, on Cato of Utica, the hero of the tragedy, which deals with his last days in Africa after the defeat of Pharsalia. At the opening of the play, Cato's son, Portius, describes the position of the Pompeians

'My father has this morning call'd together
To this poor hall his little Roman senate,
(The leavings of Pharsalia) to consult
If yet he can oppose the mighty torrent
That bears down Rome and all her gods before it,
Or must at length give up the world to Cæsar'

The end comes with Cato's determination to fall upon his sword rather than survive to fall into the hands of Cæsar. It is a play of speech and reflection more than of action, as Dr Johnson said, 'It is rather a poem in dialogue than a drama, rather a succession of just sentiments in elegant language, than a representation of natural affections, or of any state probable or possible in human life. Nothing here "excites or assuages emotion". here is "no magical power of raising phantastic terror or wild anxiety"'. The events are expected without solicitude, and are remembered without joy or sorrow'. But he adds that the characters grouped round the central figure of Cato 'are made the vehicles of such sentiments and such expression, that there is scarcely a scene in the play which the reader does not wish to impress upon his memory'. The play is now little read and never acted, but there are lines and passages which have passed into household words, such as.

'Tis not in mortals to command success,
But we'll do more, Semppronius, we'll deserve it'
'The woman that deliberates is lost'
'Plato, thou reason'st well'

P 68, l 19 **The Tories.**—A Tory Ministry was then in power, with Harley as Prime Minister

P 68, l 19 **Semppronius.**—In the tragedy Semppronius, a senator and one of the Pompeian followers of Cato, successfully intrigues with Syphax, general of the Numidian army, and attempts to corrupt the loyalty of Juba, the young prince of Numidia, in order to create a revolt against Cato in Cæsar's interest.

P 68, l 19 **Apostate Whigs**—I.e. the Whigs who supported Harley, the greatest of these was Swift

P. 68, ll. 21, 22. *alfax and Wharton*.—See notes on p. 15, l. 3, and p. 43, l. 5.

P. 68, l. 27. *acready*.—William Charles Macready (1793–1873) was the reigning tragic actor and manager of Drury Lane Theatre when Macaulay wrote.

P. 68, l. 27. *Juba*.—See note above on Sempronius, line 19.

P. 68, l. 28 *arcia*.—The beautiful and virtuous daughter of Cato, in love with the gallant young prince Juba For the hoop-petticoat see note on p. 66, l. 10.

P. 68, l. 29. *The birthday*.—I.e. of a court reception, or 'drawing-room,' held on the queen's birthday.

P. 68, l. 32. *ooth*.—Barton Booth (1681–1733), was the chief actor in Queen Anne's reign. Pope calls him 'well-mouth'd Booth.'

P. 68, l. 33 *To pack a house*.—I.e. to fill a theatre with supporters of the author of the play The boxes are the most expensive seats in the theatre, for the pit see note above on p. 64, l. 17.

P. 68, l. 34 *Stars*.—I.e. the badges of the various orders of knight-hood.

P. 68, ll. 35, 36 *Inns of Court*.—See note on p. 48, l. 9 The literary coffee-houses at this time were Will's, Button's, the Grecian, and Tom's, see notes on p. 14, l. 29, p. 5, l. 20, and p. 52, l. 17

P. 69, l. 1. *War*.—A colloquial use of the adjective in the sense 'very rich.'

P. 69, l. 2 *Jonathan's*.—Jonathan's coffee-house was in Change Alley, Cornhill, and was 'the general mart of stock-jobbers' (*Tatler*, No 38); and in No 1 of the *Spectator* Addison speaks of himself as sometimes 'passing for a Jew in the assembly of stock-jobbers at Jonathan's' It was the parent of the modern Stock Exchange in Capel Court.

P. 69, l. 3 *Garraway's*.—Garraway's coffee-house was also in Change Alley, close to Jonathan's. It was the great resort of business men and merchants, and was the centre of gambling at the time of the South Sea Bubble. Here, after the Restoration, tea was first sold in England, at prices ranging from sixteen to fifty shillings a pound, by the original proprietor, Thomas Garway. Swift describes it as a sort of earlier Lloyd's:

'Meantime secure on Garway's cliffs,
A savage race, by shipwrecks fed,
Lie waiting for the founder'd skiffs,
And strip the bodies of the dead'

P. 69, l. 9. *The great military chief, &c.*—Julius Cæsar Cf p. 70, l. 8, note.

P. 69, l. 13. *The Kit Cat*.—See note on p. 21, l. 16

P. 69, l. 14. *The ctober*.—The October Club met at the Bell tavern

in King Street, Westminster, and was so called after the October ale, for which it was famous. It was the resort of the Tory squire and High Churchman, who 'drank the health of the king,' says Timbs, 'sometimes over the water-decanter, and flustered himself with bumpers in honour of Dr. Sacheverell and the Church of England, with true-blue spirits of his own kidney.' Here Swift was often to be found, from 1710 onwards, moderating the zeal of the extreme Tories; see his 'Advice humbly offered to the Members of the October Club.'

P. 69, l 18. **The xa'er.**—See note on p. 63, l. 2.

P. 69, l. 23. **Sir Gibby.**—I.e. Sir Gilbert Heathcote. See p. 68, l. 36.

P. 69, l 26. **Se pronius.**—See note on p. 68, l 19

P. 69, l 29. **Wharton.**—See note on p. 43, l 5.

P. 69, ll 30, 31.—

'When vice prevails, and impious men bear sway,
The post of honour is a private station.'

P. 69, l 34. **arth.**—Sir Samuel Garth (1672–1719), poet and author of 'The Dispensary,' a burlesque poem enjoining doctors to give medical advice free to the poor, was a notable physician in his day, and a friend of all the literary celebrities. Dryden described him as 'generous as his Muse,' and Pope as 'well-natur'd Garth'. Thackeray says of him: 'Garth, the accomplished and benevolent, whom Steele has described so charmingly, of whom Codrington said that his character was "all beauty," and whom Pope himself called "the best of Christians, without knowing it."'

P. 70, l 4. See note on p. 44, l. 35

P. 70, l. 8. **A perpetual ictator.**—Bolingbroke thus turned the tables on the Whigs by comparing Marlborough to Julius Cæsar, as a would-be destroyer of his country's liberties.

P. 70, l. 12. **The London season.**—The months of May, June, and July. The fashionable season, when all the notabilities are in London, may, however, be said to begin as soon as Parliament reassembles after the Easter recess and to end with Goodwood races at the end of July. April would now be thought the very beginning of the season.

P. 70, l. 16. **The Act.**—The 'Act' was originally the public disputation or lecture required of a candidate for the degree of Master of Arts; hence at Oxford the occasion of the completion of degrees is still called the 'Act,' though no disputation or lecture is now required.

P. 70, l. 20. **Gowns en.**—Undergraduates and graduates.

P. 70, l 24. **asterpieces of the Attic stage.**—The great tragedies of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides.

P. 70, l. 26. **Schiller's.**—Johann Christoph Friedrich von Schiller (1759–1803) was the greatest German poet, except Goethe, and made his mark also as Professor of History at Jena and as historian of the

Thirty Years' War. His later years were spent at Weimar, where, in conjunction with his friend Goethe, he directed the theatre. His chief tragedies were 'The Robbers,' 'Wallenstein,' 'Mary Stuart,' 'Joan of Arc,' and 'William Tell.' He wrote also many fine ballads.

•P 70, l 28 **On the French odel**—I.e. with strict attention to the so-called unities of the drama, and in imitation of the ancient Greek drama. On this point Johnson observes. 'Every critical reader must remark, that Addison has, with a scrupulosity almost unexampled on the English stage, confined himself in time to a single day, and in place to rigorous unity. The scene never changes, and the whole action of the play passes in the great hall of Cato's house at Utica.' But Addison's *language* is much too colloquial in places to have satisfied a French critic. It is impossible to imagine a Greek or French tragic dramatist writing such speeches as that of Decius in Act II scene 2 of 'Cato'.

'Consider, Cato, you're in Utica,

You don't now thunder in the Capitol,
With all the mouths of Rome to second you'

P 70, l 29 **Athalie or Saul**—'Athalie' is one of Racine's tragedies, published 1690, 'Saul' is a tragedy of Alfieri's, published in 1782. See note on p 21, l 25, and the note on line 33 below.

P 70, l 30 **Cinna** is a tragedy of Corneille's, published 1639.

P 70, l 32 **Corneille**.—Pierre Corneille (1600-1684), the greatest French dramatist, was the author of numerous tragedies, of which the best were 'Medea,' 'The Cid,' 'The Horatii,' and 'Cinna.'

P 70, l 32 **Voltaire**.—See note on p 55, l 37.

P 70, l 33 **Alfieri**—Vittorio Alfieri (1740-1803) was a prolific Italian dramatist. His best tragedies were 'Saul,' and 'Philip II.' He fell in love at Florence with the Countess of Albany, the wife of the Young Pretender, and married her privately after her husband's death. He is one of 'the illustrious dead of Santa Croce' see note on p 41, l 14.

P 70, l 35 **Freeholders**.—See note on p 29, l 1.

P. 71, l 2 **It should seem**.—See note on p 20, l 18.

P. 71, l 4 **John Dennis**.—John Dennis (1657-1734) was an inferior dramatist and miscellaneous writer, who was always at war with one or other of the principal authors of his day. Although he often wrote with bitter personal animus in his literary criticisms, he was a critic of considerable acuteness as well as industry, much of his criticism of 'Cato' is perfectly just. Pope revenged himself for Dennis's attacks on the 'Essay on Criticism' by giving him a conspicuous place in his 'Dunciad,' in which he savagely reviled all the Grub Street writers and some others of higher standing. Marlborough procured Dennis a place in the Custom House, but he mortgaged it and fell into extreme poverty and distress in his later days. As to Dennis's attack on 'Cato,' it was owing to Nos. 39, 40, and 47 of the *Spectator*. In the two first

Addison impugned Denuis's theory of poetical justice, and in the third he quoted with sarcastic intent a couplet of Denuis's that occurred in a translation of a satire of Boileau See note on p 72, l. 1

P 71, l 22 **The Rape of the Lock.**—Thus witty and elegant mock-heroic poem narrates the theft of a lock of hair cut off by Lord Petre from the head of the beautiful Arabella Fermor, and the dire consequences that ensued The first two cantos were published in 1712, the complete poem in 1714

P 71, l 28. **The Essay on Criticism.**—In the *Spectator*, No 253, of December 20, 1711, Addison wrote. 'I am sorry to find that an author, who is very justly esteemed among the best judges, has admitted some strokes of this nature into a very fine poem, I mean "The Art of Criticism," which was published some months since, and is a masterpiece in its kind.' In a letter to Steele, dated October 10, 1714, Pope, supposing that Steele was the author of the critique, thus referred to this passage: 'The period in that paper where you say, "I have admitted some strokes of ill-nature into that essay," is the only one I would wish omitted of all you have written, but I would not desire it should be so, unless I had the merit of removing your objection I beg you to point out those strokes to me, and you may be assured they shall be treated without mercy' Pope's pretended ignorance was mere dissimulation, see note on Denuis below, p 72, l 1

P 71, l 36. **Publicly extolled, &c.**—In *Spectator*, No 523, of October 30, 1714, Addison praised 'the late miscellany published by Mr Pope' But as he coupled this eulogy with a favourable recommendation of the Pastorals of Ambrose Philips, and was silent as to Pope's own Pastorals, it is probable that Pope was more annoyed and offended at the particular praise of a rival and the omission of all mention of his own pastoral poetry, than pleased at the general praise of his miscellany.

P. 71, l 37 **Prologue.**—To the 'Cato'

P 72, l 1. **Injured without provocation.**—In his 'Essay on Criticism,' published in May 1711, Part III v 585-588

'Appius reddens at each word you speak,
And stares, tremendous, with a threatening eye,
Like some fierce tyrant in old tapestry'

The name 'Appius' was an allusion to Denuis's tragedy, 'Appius and Virginia' This was the beginning of the long quarrel between Pope and Denuis. Denuis replied in June 1711 by 'Reflections Critical and Satirical on a late Rhapsody called an Essay on Criticism'

P 72, l 13. **On Atticus.**—See note on p. 46, l 25

P 72, l 14 **Sporus.**—Prologue to the 'Satires,' 305-334 The name is taken from that of the infamous favourite of the emperor Nero The passage is a venomous attack on John, Lord Hervey, son of the Earl of Bristol (1696-1743) He was Vice-Chamberlain to George II and a favourite of Queen Caroline He was a partisan of Walpole's and an active political pamphleteer, but is now chiefly remembered

for his 'Memoirs of the Reign of George II.' Pope attacked him also in his prose letter and in his 'Epistle to Dr Arbuthnot,' and satirised him under the name of 'Lord Fanny' in the Prologue and in Satire I. The lines on Sporus were Pope's retribution for Hervey's scurrilous 'Verses addressed to the Imitator of Horace' and 'Epistle to a Doctor of Divinity,' in which Pope's deformity and low birth were satirised.

P 72, ll. 15, 16 **Horace's imagery and his own.**—The allusions are to Horace, 'Satires,' II 1 54, 55.

'mirum

Ut neque calce lupus quenquam neque dente petit bos.
'Strange! Yes, as strange as that the wolf does not kick nor the
ox bite' (Maclean), and to Pope, Satire I 85-89.

'Its proper pow'r to hurt, each creature feels;
Bulls aim their horns, and asses lift their heels;
'Tis a bear's talent not to kick, but hug,
And no man wonders he's not stung by pug'

In the last line 'pug' stands for the monkey

P. 72, l 21 **The shilling gallery.**—The cheapest seats in a theatre

P 72, l 22 **A dra** .—I.e. a glass of spirits, with a feeble pun on the word 'drama.'

P 72, l 23 **Peripetia.**—A Greek word signifying the *dénouement*, i.e. that part of a drama in which the plot is unravelled, such as the passage in the 'Œdipus' of Sophocles in which the king discovers his parentage. It means literally a 'turning right round,' a revolution; hence, a sudden reversal of fortune

P 73, l 2 See Introduction, vii 5

P. 73, l 6 **The Guardian.**—See note on p 22, l 10

P. 73, l 8 **Stockbridge.**—A small borough in western Hampshire, about equidistant from Winchester on the south-east and Salisbury on the south-west. Steele was elected M.P. in August 1713

P. 73, l 18 Quoted from Addison's letter to his friend Hughes of October 12, 1713.

P 73, l 24. **The English an.**—One of Steele's numerous, and mostly short-lived, periodicals, which appeared on the demise of the *Guardian*, from October 6, 1713, to February 14, 1714, and again from July 11 to November 21, 1715

P. 73, l 29. **To expel h** .—On March 12, 1714, he was formally accused of uttering seditious libels, on account of his political pamphlets attacking the Tory Ministry, especially his pamphlet 'The Crisis,' published January 19, 1714. He spoke for three hours in his own defence, and was ably supported by Walpole, Addison, and others, but, as he put it, 'the insolent and unmanly sanction of a majority' prevailed against him, and on March 18 he was expelled from the House of Commons. Thackeray, alluding to this incident, speaks of Steele's championship of George I., 'whose cause honest Dick had nobly fought,

through disgrace and danger, against the most formidable enemies, against traitors and bullies, against Bolingbroke and Swift'

P. 74, l. 10 **The death of Anne.**—August 1714'. In his great historical novel, 'Esmond,' Thackeray gives a vivid picture, with some touches of invention, of the nearness of the escape that England then had from a restoration of the Stuarts. Harley had quarrelled with Mrs. Masham, the successor of the Duchess of Marlborough in the Queen's favour, and had been dismissed from office

P. 74, l. 16 **The white sta** .—See note on p. 61, l. 12.

P. 74, l. 18 **The Duke of Shrewsbury.**—See note on p. 29, l. 27.

P. 74, l. 32 **Sir James Mackintosh, &c.**—Macaulay alludes to Mackintosh's 'History of the Revolution in England in 1688,' which was the subject of one of his Essays published in July 1835. Mackintosh (1765–1832) was eminent as a lawyer, as a politician, and as an historian. He is chiefly remembered now for his 'Vindiciæ Gallicæ,' a defence of the principles and acts of the French Revolution against Burke's famous indictment. In 1804 he was knighted and made Recorder of Bombay, and distinguished himself as a judge and as a patron of Oriental learning. He was M.P. for Nairn from 1813 onwards, and a Professor of Law at Haileybury College from 1818 to 1824. In his later days he was one of the most frequent contributors to the *Edinburgh Review*

P. 75, l. 9 **Lord John Russell, &c.**—John Russell, created Earl Russell in 1861, was born in 1792 and died only thirty-two years ago in 1878. He was a leading advocate of Reform, and, after holding minor offices, became Prime Minister from 1846 to 1852, and again, for a short time, in 1865. He was a man of very high character and an able 'peace' statesman, unflagging in support of the claims of Roman Catholics and Jews to political rights, of free trade, and of national education.

P. 75, l. 9 **Sir Robert Peel (1788–1850)** was another distinguished early Victorian statesman, but on the Tory side. He became Prime Minister in 1834, for a few months, and again from 1841 to 1846. It was in his second ministry that he split the Tory party asunder by repealing the Corn Laws. It is to him that we owe our police force, called after him 'Peelers' and 'Bobbies,' and the more doubtful boon of the income-tax.

P. 75, l. 9 **Lord Palmerston.**—Henry John Temple, Viscount Palmerston (1784–1865), held office in several Tory administrations till 1828. In 1844 he joined Earl Grey's Ministry as Foreign Secretary, and held the same office under Lord Melbourne, 1835–1841, and under Lord John Russell, 1846–1851. It was during the last of these three periods that he acquired such a great reputation for foresight and vigour and made the name of England respected and feared throughout the Continent. He was Prime Minister from 1855 to 1857, in 1858, and from 1859 till his death. He was a man of imperturbable coolness and courage, with the tastes of a sporting English country gentleman, his

wit and his genialty, added to his characteristically English qualities, made him extraordinarily popular even with his political opponents

P. 75, l 15. **Royal sign manual.**—I.e. the signature of the sovereign

P. 75, l 19 **The India Board.**—The Board of Control, by the establishment of which the Directors of the East India Company were brought more directly under the control of Parliament, was instituted by Pitt in his India Bill, passed May 18, 1784. The Act of 1784 was amended in 1793, and the Board, as then remodelled, continued to supervise Indian affairs till 1858, when the government of India was transferred to the Crown. The President of the Board of Control was always a cabinet minister.

*P. 75, l 26 **Sunderland.**—See note on p. 34, l 13

P. 75, l 29 **Swift.**—See note on p. 14, l 16

P. 77, ll 7, 8 **The Swift of 1738.**—In 1736 he had had a dangerous illness, and was afterwards subject to attacks of insanity, which gradually undermined his reason, and in his last years reduced him to imbecility

P. 77, l 15 **The Tale of a Tub.**—This masterpiece of irony, in which Swift satirised the Church of Rome and the Presbyterians, was published in 1704. It was certainly not the production of a reverent believer and probably contributed not a little, even in those lax days, to hindering his promotion in the English Church. But the chief reason, apart from the personal dislike of Queen Anne, why he was never made a bishop seems to have been the sufficient one that he was not a Christian. This was the popular view, which found expression in the biting, if ungrammatical, epigram made on his promotion to the Deanery of St. Patrick's.

‘A Dean he has become at length
By ways most strange and odd
And may a bishop be in time—
If he’d believe in God’

It was, we think, the consciousness of his moral unfitness for his sacred office, and the struggle of his severely logical mind against an increasing scepticism, as well as the rebellion of his proud spirit against the clerical fetters which debarred him from worldly greatness, that made the iron that ate into his soul, ‘the vulture that tore the heart of that giant,’ as Thackeray expressed it, in allusion to the legend of Prometheus

P. 77, l 18 **Halifax and Soers.**—See notes on p. 15, l 3, and p. 19, l 15

P. 77, ll 33-37

‘E’en through the press of battle let us shun
Each other’s spears, for I have foes enow
In Troy and Troy’s allies to slay, whom chance
May tender or my swift feet o’ertake; so thou
Hast many Greeks to kill, whome’er thou may’st’
Homer ‘Iliad,’ vi 226-230

The 'hereditary guests' were Diomed, the Greek chieftain, King of Ætolia, and Glaucus, an ally, of Priam, King of Troy. The lines are spoken by the former. From preceding lines it had been shown that Æneus, grandfather of Diomed, had entertained and exchanged tokens of friendship with Bellerophon, the grandfather of Glaucus.

P. 78, l. 11. **Swift was more odious, &c.**—As a Tory and a suspected Jacobite, and as the author of the most powerful pamphlets against the Whigs, Swift was naturally an object of fear and hatred to the dominant party in Ireland.

P. 78, l. 28. **Tickell.**—See note on p. 48, l. 28.

P. 78, l. 29. **udgell.**—See note on p. 48, l. 8.

P. 78, l. 30. **Phillipps.**—See note on p. 48, l. 24.

P. 78, l. 34. Soon after the accession of George I. Steele was rewarded for his fidelity to the cause of the Hanoverian succession with the posts of Governor of the Royal Company of Comedians, Surveyor of the Royal Stables at Hampton Court, and Justice of the Peace for Middlesex, in addition to the honour of knighthood. But he expected higher preferment, and was aggrieved because Addison chose Tickell to be his under-secretary, rather than his old school friend.

P. 79, l. 1. **The Drummer.**—'The Drummer, or The Haunted House,' is a slight, but pleasing and humorous, comedy, which was produced anonymously at Drury Lane theatre in 1715. It was omitted by Tickell in his edition of Addison's works, but republished by Steele with an 'Epistle Dedicatory' to Congreve, in which he replied to certain aspersions cast on him by Tickell and gave us nearly all the information we possess about the comedy.

P. 79, l. 10. **The Rebellion.**—The rising in Scotland, headed by the Earl of Mar, in favour of the Old Pretender, son of James II. Although the battle fought at Sheriffmuir against the forces of the Duke of Argyll was indecisive, James was shortly afterwards driven to flight by the advance of another body of royalist troops under General Carpenter. In England some of the Catholic gentry rose in Northumberland under Lord Derwentwater and Mr. Foister and, joined by 2000 Highlanders, marched into Lancashire, but they were compelled to surrender at Preston.

P. 79, l. 12. **The Freeholder.**—See note on p. 29, l. 1.

P. 79, l. 15. **Character of . . . Lord Somers.**—*Freeholder*, No. 39, of May 4, 1716, 'published on the day of his interment.' See note on p. 19, l. 15.

P. 79, l. 16. **The Tory Foxhunter.**—See note on p. 29, l. 1.

P. 79, ll. 17, 18. **Squire Western.**—Father of the heroine, Sophia Western, in Fielding's novel, 'Tom Jones.' He is described by Sir Walter Scott as 'an inimitable picture of ignorance, prejudice, nascentility and rusticity, united with natural shrewdness, constitutional

good humour, and an instinctive affection for his daughter' See note on p 49, l 31

P. 79, l. 29 **The admonition, &c.**—*Freeholder*, No 33, of April 13, 1716.

P. 80, l. 5 **Town Talk.**—One of three periodicals, established and abandoned by Steele in 1715, 1716 *Town Talk*, December 17, 1715, *The Tea-Table*, February 2, 1716, and *Chit-Chat*, March 6, 1716

P. 80, l. 6. **nglishman.**—See note on p 73, l. 24

P. 80, l. 6. **Crisis.**—See note on p. 73, l. 29

P. 80, l. 6 **Letter to the aliff of Stockbridge.**—A political pamphlet published by Steele in 1713 under the title 'The Importance of Dunkirk Consider'd,' to which Swift replied, in a bitterly contemptuous pamphlet entitled, 'The Importance of the Guardian Consider'd'

P. 80, l. 7. **Reader.**—A periodical begun by Steele in April 1714, dropped, like its predecessor, the *Lover*, in May of the same year

P. 80, ll 7, 8 **Everything that he wrote, &c.**—This is unjust to Steele; he wrote many admirable papers in the *Tatler* and the *Spectator*, without the help of Addison.

P. 80, l. 15 **The ape of the Lock.**—See note on p. 71, l. 22.

P. 80, l. 18 **Sylphs and gnomes.**—Air-spirits and earth-spirits, the former benignant, the latter malevolent

P. 80, ll 19, 20 **The Rosicrucian ythology.**—The Rosicrucians were 'a celebrated but entirely fabulous secret society,' whose supposed existence was due to the publication at Cassel, in Germany, in 1614 of a book on the 'Fame of the Brotherhood of the Praiseworthy Order of Rosenkreuz,' in which the pretensions of the society to supernatural lore, magical powers, and knowledge of the mysteries of physics, alchemy, and astronomy were set forth, and scholars were invited to join it and investigate its claims. The book has been attributed with great probability to Johann Andriæ (1586-1654), German scholar and theologian, and was a gigantic and highly successful hoax on the credulity of the seventeenth century. The society was said to have been founded 200 years earlier by one Christian Rosenkreuz. Soon after the publication of the book a voluminous 'Rosicrucian' literature began to appear both in Germany and in England. The name 'Rosicrucian,' member of the 'Rose-Cross' society, was simply a latinisation of the German surname 'Rosenkreuz'

P. 82, l. 7 **A single instance, &c.**—Since Macaulay wrote, Tennyson has provided two singularly happy instances in his 'Dream of Fair Women' and 'Palace of Art,' both of which were so altered from the poems originally published in 1832 as to be practically new productions, though there was no recasting of the plan of either

P. 82, l. 9 **Tasso.**—See note on p 16, l. 18

P. 82, l. 9 **Akenside.**—Mark Akenside (1721-1770), poet and physician, was the author of this once celebrated poem. He had Milton's

enthusiasm for the classic authors, for liberty, and for whatsoever things are of good report, 'tinged with pedantry,' like Milton's, but he had not Milton's strength of wing. The poem published anonymously in 1744 contains some good rhetoric, but is now little read. The attempt to recast it was a failure. The following extract gives an idea of the lofty purpose that inspired him

'From the birth
Of mortal man, the sovereign Maker said
That not in humble nor in brief delight,
Not in the fading echoes of renown,
Power's purple robes, nor Pleasure's flowery lap,
The soul should find enjoyment but from these
Turning disdainful to an equal good,
Through all the ascent of things enlarge her view,
Till every bound at length should disappear,
And infinite perfection close the scene.'

P 82, l 10 — **pistle to Curio**.—A satirical poem in which he attacked Pulteney, published in the same year, 1744

P. 82, l 13 **The Dunciad**.—This famous satire, the epic of the dunces, was suggested by Dryden's 'MacFlecknoe'. It was published in 1728, with Theobald as its hero, in revenge for the latter's criticism of Pope's edition of Shakespeare. In 1743 a version of it appeared in which Theobald was replaced by Colley Cibber, who had been made poet-laureate in 1730 by Sir Robert Walpole as a reward for his political play, 'The Non-juror'. The reason for Pope's enmity against Cibber may have lain in this play, in which Catholics and non-jurors were branded as traitors, but, according to Cibber himself, it arose from Gay's comedy, 'Three Hours after Marriage,' in which Pope was believed to have had a hand. Cibber having introduced an uncomplimentary allusion to the comedy, when he was playing the part of Bayes in 'The Rehearsal,' Pope 'came behind the scenes with his lips pale and his voice trembling to call Mr Cibber to account for the insult.' See note on Dennis, p 71, l 4. Cibber was possessed of plenty of wit, and his substitution for the dull Theobald was a literary blunder.

P 82, l 19 **Waverley**.—See note on p 24, l 10 'Waverley,' published in 1814, was the first of the famous series of novels. It is a romance of the Young Pretender's Rebellion in 1745.

P 82, l 19 **Herder**.—Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744-1803) was a German divine, court preacher to the Duke of Saxe-Weimar, and a friend of Goethe. He was a very voluminous writer on all sorts of subjects.

P. 82, l 20 **Goethe**.—Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832) was the greatest poet that Germany has produced. His masterpiece, 'Faust,' is in form a drama, but is rather a poetic epitome of the life of man, struggling through sin and failure to a higher spiritual and moral plane. His other chief dramas are 'Goetz von Berlichingen,' 'Tasso,' 'Iphigenia in Tauris,' 'Stella,' and 'Count Egmont', in

poetry he left numerous ballads and lyrics, and the charming idyll 'Hermann and Dorothea', in prose he is best remembered for his youthful 'Sorrows of Werther,' and for 'Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship,' translated by Carlyle. From 1782 he resided at Weimar, where he was highly honoured by the Duke of Saxe-Weimar, ennobled, and made President of the Council. His influence on modern literature and on modern thought in many departments of knowledge has been profound, while as a poet he has been everywhere recognised as one of the great masters in song and drama.

P. 82, l. 21. **Hume**.—David Hume (1711–1776), sceptical philosopher and historian, author of the well-known 'History of England,' which represents the *ne plus ultra* of dishonest partisanship, and which Macaulay himself characterised as 'a vast mass of sophistry.' In philosophy his best-known works are his 'Treatise of Human Nature,' a logical application of Locke's principles, his 'Inquiry concerning the Principles of Morals,' and 'The Natural History of Religion.'

P. 82, l. 21 **Robertson**.—See note on p. 24, l. 10.

P. 83, l. 10 See note on p. 36, l. 20. The *Odyssey* describes the wanderings and adventures of Odysseus (Ulysses), King of Ithaca, after the fall of Troy.

P. 83, l. 18 **The sense which it bears, &c.**—I.e. 'transformation.' Shakespeare, 'Midsummer Night's Dream,' iii. 1, 122. This usage of the verb 'translate' is common in Shakespeare. Pope's translation of Homer is as unlike the original as possible in style, sentiment, and language, and is inaccurate besides.

P. 83, l. 35 **To father it.**—I.e. to put his own name to it as author.

P. 83, l. 36 **utton's.**—See note on p. 5, l. 20.

P. 83, l. 36 **To puff it.**—I.e. to give it exaggerated praise.

P. 84, l. 26 **Rowe.**—See note on p. 41, l. 37.

P. 84, l. 28 **Congreve.**—See note on p. 4, l. 19.

P. 85, l. 16. **The Satirist.**—The *Satirist* was a scurrilous periodical which ran from 1831 till the 15th of December 1849.

P. 85, l. 17. **The Age.**—This was a disreputable weekly publication in the Tory interest, which started in 1825, as a rival of *John Bull*, with which it was at feud. It sold at 7d. a copy, and was distinguished by its profanity and coarse vulgarity. From 1843 to 1845 it changed its name to the *Age and the Argus*. In 1855 the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in introducing his Newspaper Stamp Bill, alluded to the *Age* and *John Bull* as 'coarse and scurrilous publications which had died for lack of readers.'

P. 85, l. 23. **All stiletto and ask.**—I.e. he was like an Italian 'bravo,' or hired assassin, stabbing his victims while his identity was concealed. The stiletto is a small dagger used in Italy, diminutive of 'stilo,' a dagger, Latin *stilus*, a pointed instrument, such as was used by the Romans for writing on waxen tablets.

P 85, l 27 **The Duke of Chandos.**—James Bydges, first Duke of Chandos (1673–1744), acquired wealth as paymaster of the forces, 1707 to 1712, and spent it on a magnificent house and grounds called ‘Canons,’ near Edgware and Harrow. In epistle iv of the ‘Moral Essays,’ addressed to Richard Boyle, Earl of Burlington, lines 99–176, Pope gave a description of ‘Timon’s Villa,’ a satire on the tasteless display and waste of riches. Every one at once recognised Chandos and ‘Canons,’ in Timon and his villa. Pope indignantly denied that he had intended to satirise Chandos, attempted to propitiate the Duke by a complimentary line in another epistle, saying that ‘gracious Chandos is beloved at sight,’ and tried to throw dust in the eyes of his readers by pretending that the satire was general, not particular, and by drawing attention to details, purposely introduced, that were inconsistent with a picture of ‘Canons’:

‘A hundred smart in Timon and in Balaam,’

and

‘Who to the Dean and silver bell can swear,
And sees at Canons what was never there’

The exculpation, Johnson says, was received ‘with great magnanimity as by a man who accepted his excuse, without believing his professions’

P 85, l 28 **Aaron Hill.**—Aaron Hill (1685–1752) was an honest man, but a dull bore, who posed as a poet. After some bickerings with Pope he was put into ‘The Bathos’ in the third volume of Pope’s *Miscellanies* as one of the ‘flying fishes’ who could only make brief flights out of ‘the profound,’ and reappeared, in more complimentary fashion, among the divers in the ‘Dunciad.’ He wrote a letter of expostulation to Pope, who lied, as usual. ‘He was not the author of the note about Hill in the “Dunciad,” the extracts were chosen at random in “The Bathos,”’ ‘he would use his influence with the writer of the note to have it altered,’ and lastly, ‘that the blank in the first line of the passage in the “Dunciad” required a dissyllable to fill it.’ This last subterfuge Aaron might have detected, for in the first edition of the ‘Dunciad’ Pope wrote, ‘H ——— tried the next.’ Of course Pope meant the dissyllabic blank to be filled by ‘Aaron,’ ‘Then Aaron tried’ replacing the previous words. Aaron Hill, however, accepted Pope’s disclaimer, and it is pleasant to reflect that Pope was punished by being saddled for the rest of his life with a friend and fulsome admirer who bored him to death by sending him reams of verse and tragedy to criticise.

P 85, l 30 **Lady Mary.**—See note on p 46, l 2. Lady Mary herself declared that the cause of Pope’s quarrel with her was that on one occasion he had made love to her and that she had burst out laughing in his face. Pope retorted by a series of savage insults, extending over several years, in ‘Dunciad,’ ‘Satires,’ and ‘Epistles’—the worst of which, in his first satire, is so gross as to be unprintable. Lady Mary made a remonstrance through Peterborough. Pope took refuge in the dastardly reply that ‘he wondered Lady Mary should suppose the lines to apply to any but some notoriously abandoned woman.’ But

that Pope had intended Lady Mary by 'Sappho' in his satires, there can be no sort of doubt. It was an obvious name for the best known female poet of the day; Pope himself had called Lady Mary 'Sappho' six years before the 'Dunciad' in a letter addressed to Judith Cowper, and he often afterwards alluded to her by that name. She is supposed to have had a hand with Lord Hervey in a scurrilous lampoon on Pope, published after she had failed to obtain any redress, the lampoon was entitled 'Verses addressed to an Imitator of Horace by a Lady'

P. 85, l. 32 **Puffed**.—See note on p. 83, l. 36

P. 85, l. 33 **e robbed h' se of his o letters, &c.**—This is one of the series of despicable intrigues which Pope laboriously contrived to pamper his own vanity; some of the worst of these have only been discovered and others only completely unravelled by recent researches. They are exposed, as clearly and briefly as is possible, by Mr. Leslie Stephen in chapter vi of his 'Pope'—'English Men of Letters' series. In this case Pope employed a low actor and painter named Worsdale, who called himself Smythe, and represented himself as an agent of a certain 'P. T.', 'a secret enemy of Pope,' to negotiate with a notoriously piratical bookseller and publisher named Curll. 'Smythe' told Curll that 'P. T.' had a quantity of Pope's correspondence which he was willing to sell to Curll in order to injure Pope by its publication. After some nibbling Curll swallowed the bait, and soon after published the letters, for the publication of which Pope had thus worked underground. Pope arranged to have the book seized on publication on the ground of an advertisement that it contained letters written by peers, which the House of Lords had recently decided it to be a breach of privilege to publish. But, as he had taken care that there were no peers' letters among the sheets seized by the messenger of the House of Lords, the books were restored to Curll. Curll, however, grew restive, and published some rather damaging revelations about the negotiations with the mythical 'P. T.' which Pope anticipated by his 'Narrative of the Method by which Mr. Pope's Letters were procured by Edmund Curll'. It seems odd, but Pope's reputation does not appear to have suffered at the time, in spite of the strong suspicions roused by Curll's exposure. Afterwards Pope published a very carefully revised and edited volume of these letters, and in the preface ingenuously pointed out how 'he had unconsciously drawn a portrait of himself in letters written *without the least thought that ever the world should be a witness to them*'. It would be difficult for impudent hypocrisy to go beyond this. His letters to Swift were published by an equally disgraceful but rather different kind of intrigue at a later date.

P. 85, l. 34 **ue and cry**.—Technically used of an alarm raised for the pursuit of a criminal. 'Hue,' Old French 'hui,' means the same as 'cry,' as in 'nature and kind,' 'head and front,' and so many other specimens of French-English phrases in our language. See Earl's Philology, sec. 77, on 'The Bilingualism of King's English'.

P. 86, l. 3 **olingbroke**.—See note on p. 44, l. 35.

P 86, l 7 **An act of gross perfidy.**—See Leslie Stephen's 'Pope,' chapter ix After Pope's death it was discovered that he had had 1500 copies printed of Bolingbroke's work, the 'Patriot King,' though he had received it from him on condition of keeping it strictly private and showing it only to a few friends. He had also corrected and altered it to suit his own taste Bolingbroke was furious at the treachery, to which he alluded in his preface when he published the book. However indefensible Pope's conduct was in this matter, his motive, for once, does not appear to have been a bad one; he certainly admired Bolingbroke extravagantly, and seems to have committed this act of treachery out of a genuine desire to spread the reputation of his friend

P. 86, ll 24, 25 **The arl of Warwick.**—Son of Addison's Countess of Warwick, and properly 'Earl of Warwick and Holland' These Earls of Warwick began with Robert, Lord Rich, created Earl of Warwick in 1618, and ended with Charles, fourth Earl, who died in 1673 The title then passed to Robert Rich, second Earl of Holland, a grandson of the first Earl of Warwick. Robert, first Earl of Warwick and Holland, was succeeded by Edward, who married Charlotte Myddelton, and their son Edward, third Earl of Warwick and Holland, is the boy to whom Addison addressed two charming letters about birds in 1708 The merged title became extinct with Edward Rich, fourth Earl of Warwick and Holland, who died in 1759, and the title of Earl of Warwick was revived for the Grevilles, Lords Brooke, who still hold it, while the Holland title passed to the Foxes in 1763 in the form of a barony.

P 86, l 35 **Sketched the character . . . in prose.**—There is absolutely no foundation for this statement of Macaulay's, except the letter to Craggs of July 15, 1715, in which some of the phrases used in the satire occur But this alleged letter of Pope to Craggs is almost certainly spurious, it forms part of the correspondence concocted by Pope in order to give his own account of his relations to Addison That Pope composed the rough draft of the satire on Addison *in verse* as early as 1715, is very possibly true; that he ever sent the verses to Addison is almost certainly false, though both Macaulay and Thackeray were induced by Pope's tortuous trickery to believe it The truth seems to be that Pope kept the verses by him unpublished till after Addison's death, though he may have shown them to one or two friends earlier, and that he concocted the spurious letter to Craggs in order to shield himself from the odium of satirising a dead friend and man of genius, and to put a better face on his quarrel with Addison, which was discreditable to himself alone It is certain, at any rate, that the lines first appeared in print in 1723, four years after Addison's death, in a collection called 'Cythereia,' published by Cuill

P. 87, l 1 **Sent the to Addison.**—The strong probability is that Addison never saw the famous lines at all This story rests only on Pope's own allegation to Spence and on its repetition by Warburton, a very close ally of Pope, to whom he owed his prebend in the Church See the preceding note. For the lines on Addison see note on p 46, l 25.

P 87, l 10 **In which he mentions Pope.**—Eg his hearty praise of Pope's translation of Homer in the *Freeholder*, No 40, of May 7, 1716.

P 87, l 20 **A distorted and diseased body, &c.**—Probably a reminiscence of Orreery's parody of Juvenal, applied to Pope

'Mens curva in corpore curvo'

'A crooked mind within a crooked body'

P 87, l 23 **Sir Peter Teazle, &c.**—Sir Peter Teazle is the overfed husband of Lady Teazle, the vain and foolish heroine of Sheridan's comedy, 'The School for Scandal', Joseph Surface is the plausible and hypocritical scoundrel in the same play, full of fine sentiments *Richard Brinsley Sheridan* (1751-1816) was the author of several comedies, of which 'The School for Scandal,' 'The Rivals,' and 'The Critic' are the best known. He was a brilliant wit and orator and politician, but his character lacked ballast. He was an intimate friend and associate of the Prince Regent, and a close political ally of Fox and of Burke, with whom he was associated in the prosecution of Warren Hastings, his speech in the trial on the charge relating to the Begums of Oude was his masterpiece in oratory.

P 87, l 24 **A feeble sickly licentiousness, &c.**—Eg in his 'Eloisa to Abelard'

P 87, l 25 **Love of filthy and noisome images.**—The second book of the 'Dunciad' and many passages in the 'Satires' illustrate this trait. It may have been partly due to constitutional causes, but it was certainly aggravated by intimate association with Swift, who positively revelled in everything degrading to humanity.

P 88 l 7 **As much for Homer, &c.**—See above on p 87, l 10

P 88, l 16 **Myddletons of Chirk.**—The Dowager Countess of Warwick and Holland was born Charlotte Myddelton, only daughter and heiress of Sir Thomas Myddelton, Baronet, of Chirk Castle, Denbigh, North Wales. Her father was the grandson of a famous Parliamentary leader and was akin to the Sir Hugh Myddelton, originator of the artificial 'New River' mentioned by Charles Lamb as 'waters of Sir Hugh Myddelton' in his essay 'Amicus Redivivus'. The family was long of knightly rank before the baronetcy was conferred in 1660. Sir Thomas died in 1684, and the title became extinct with his nephew, who died unmarried in 1718. Macaulay is right in saying that in any other country than England such a family as the Myddeltons would have been regarded as noble; in Germany or in France a Myddelton would certainly have been entitled to the prefix 'von' or 'de' indicating noble birth. Charlotte married first Edward, second Earl of Warwick and Holland, and, secondly, the Right Honourable Joseph Addison in 1716.

P 88, l 17 **Holland House.**—This was the seat of the Earls of Holland at Kensington, then a country village, now a western suburb of London. See note on p 86, l 24. At a later date it became

the seat of the Foxes, Bacons Holland, and was famous in the days of the third and fourth Lords Holland, the first half of the nineteenth century, for the gatherings of wits and notabilities of every kind that took place there.

P 88, l 18. **Chelsea**.—Chelsea and Kensington were then neighbouring villages.

P 88, l 19 **Nell Gwynn**.—The famous actress, and mistress of Charles II. She must have been a lovable person, for she was perhaps the only human being for whom that selfish monarch showed any real affection, on his death-bed he entreated his brother James 'not to let poor Nelly starve.'

P 88, l 27 **eating watchmen, &c.**—The watchmen were the inefficient predecessors of Sir Robert Peel's police. These brutalities of the ordinary young rake were mild 'amusements' compared with the barbarities of the Mohawks or Mohocks, see note on p 65, l 8. *Hogsheds* are large casks having a capacity of sixty-three gallons of wine or fifty-four of beer, the word is probably a corruption of 'oxhead,' as the parallel German and Danish words for a hogshhead, *ochsenhauht* and 'oxehoved,' indicate.

P 88, l 33 **Celebrated by poets**.—E.g. by Leonard Welsted, 'To the Countess of Warwick on her Marriage,' though he compliments her rather on her good taste, 'wit' and 'wisdom' than on her beauty.

'While others gain light conquests by their eyes,
'Tis thine with wisdom to subdue the wise,
To their soft chains while courtly beaux submit,
'Tis thine to lead in triumph captive wit
Her sighing vassals let Clarinda boast,
Of lace and languishing cockades the toast
In beauty's pride unenvied let her reign,
And share that wanton empire with the vain
For thee the arts of Greece and Rome combine
And all the glories Cato gained are thine
Still Warwick in thy boasted rank of life,
But more illustrious than when Warwick's wife.'

In the last couplet, however, he makes some amends.

'Secure shall beauty reign, the Muse its guard,
The Muse shall triumph beauty its reward.'

The poem was prefixed by Steele to his edition of 'The Drummer.'

P 88, l 37 **isen and fallen, &c.**—See note on p 62, l 11.

P 89, l 3 **owe**.—See note on p 41, l 37.

P 89, l 3 **Chloe**.—A conventional name for a sweetheart, from its frequent use by the classical poets in lyrics and pastoral poetry. Cf Horace, Odes i 23 l, iii 7 l 10, iii 9 l 6, 9, 19, and iii 26 l 2.

P 89, l 5 **Lycidas**.—A name for a shepherd or rustic lover in pastoral

poetry, derived from the classical poets, Theocritus and Vergil. Milton chose this name for the pastoral elegy in which he lamented his friend Edward King, who was drowned in crossing the Irish Sea, hence, of 'evil omen.'

P 89, l. 6 **Swain**.—A conventional word for a young man in pastorals, is used of Lycidas in Milton's poem.

P 89, l. 11 —**Inherited the fortune, &c.**—He certainly inherited it, but he actually received very little. See note on p 62, l. 5, and, for Addison's brothers, the note on p 6, l. 35.

P 89, l. 12 **state in Warwickshire**.—See note on page 62, l. 5.

P 89, l. 15 **William Somerville**.—William Somerville (1692-1742), author of 'The Chase,' a poem on hunting in four books, which has some spirited passages, 'Field Sports' and 'Hobbinol or the Rural Games.'

P 89, l. 22 **His portrait, &c.**—This is a mistake. It has been shown that the portrait, supposed to be Addison's, in Holland House, is really that of Sir Andrew Fountain.

P 89, l. 28 **Townshend**.—Charles, Viscount Townshend (1676-1738), Whig diplomatist and statesman, was closely associated with his brother-in-law, Walpole, at this period, though they afterwards quarrelled when Walpole was Prime Minister, and Townshend left the Ministry and retired into private life in 1730.

P 89, l. 29 **Sunderland**.—See note on p 34, l. 13.

P 89, l. 32 **Cowper**.—See note on p 34, l. 13.

P 91, l. 6 —**Vincent Bourne**.—See note on p 24, l. 16.

P 91, l. 10 An English copy of his letter of resignation to the King is extant, the original was perhaps written in French, as George I. could not read English.

P 91, l. 10 **Craggs**.—James Craggs was Secretary at War in 1717 and succeeded Addison as Secretary of State in 1718. He was his intimate friend, and Addison on his death-bed dedicated his works to him, as Tickell testifies both in his elegy on Addison, addressed to the Earl of Warwick, and in the preface to his edition of Addison's works. He was generally known as James Craggs the Younger, to distinguish him from his father, James Craggs (1657-1721). The latter was an unscrupulous financier and leading promoter of the South Sea scheme, who was found guilty of gross frauds and compelled by an Act of Parliament to make restitution to the extent of £30,000, which he had misappropriated. His death was said to have been hastened by grief for that of his son, whose reputation had suffered from the suspicion of connivance in his father's misdeeds. The son himself, however, had nothing proved against him by the Committee of Investigation, except his cynical suggestion to the directors that they should facilitate the passage of their bill by presents of South Sea stock to the Duchess

of Kendal and other ladies ! The Younger Craggs is described by Pope in his Epistle 'To James Craggs, Esq.' as follows :

'A soul as full of work, as void of pride,
Which nothing seeks to show, or needs to hide,
Which nor to guilt nor fear its caution owes,
And boasts a warmth that from no passion flows
A face untaught to feign, a judging eye,
That darts severe upon a rising lie,
And strikes a blush through frontless flattery.'

Pope also eulogised him, after his early death, in an epitaph for his monument in Westminster Abbey :

'Statesman, yet friend to truth' of soul sincere,
In action faithful, and in honour clear !
Who broke no promise, served no private end,
Who gained no title, and who lost no friend,
Ennobled by himself, by all approved,
Praised, wept, and honoured by the Muse he loved'

Gay called him 'Bold, generous Craggs, whose heart is ne'er disguised' There are also scattered allusions to him, all complimentary, in Pope's 'Satires' and 'Epistles' He died of small-pox in 1721, at the early age of 34, only two years after Addison. His coffin rests on Addison's, his monument is in the Baptistry.

P 91, l 16 **Walpole**.—See note on p 44, l 21

P 91, l 17 **Joseph Hume**.—I.e. no one to ask inconvenient questions in the House of Commons Joseph Hume (1778-1854) was a 'self-made man' who acquired a fortune as paymaster and postmaster to Lord Lake's army in the campaign against the Mahrattas In 1812 he entered Parliament and soon became the vigilant self-appointed guardian of the national purse He scrutinised the expenditure, naval, military, ecclesiastical, and civil, with untiring industry, and was a disinterested advocate of fiscal and other reforms

P. 91, l 24 In a letter to Swift, dated the 20th of March, 1717-1718, he begins. "Multiplicity of business and a long dangerous fit of sickness have prevented me from answering the obliging letter you honored me with some time since, but, God be thanked, I cannot make use of either of these excuses at present, being entirely free both of my office and of my asthma."

P 91, l 27 **Socrates**.—He was the most celebrated of the Greek philosophers, and 'the father of Greek philosophy,' though he left nothing in writing, his date was 469-399 B.C. His teaching has been transmitted to us by his two most famous disciples, Xenophon and Plato, both of whom have left an account of his death. He taught orally in the groves of Academus at Athens, largely by dialogue, and recommended both by precept and by example 'plain living and high thinking' He was accused, through the influence of the Sophists, the professional teachers, of impiety and of corrupting the youth of Athens,

and was condemned to death by the Council of the five hundred. He discoursed nobly with his friends on life and death and the immortality of the soul, until the time arrived for his sentence to take effect, when he drank a cup of hemlock juice and in a few moments expired. The account of his defence before his judges, which Plato has given us in the 'Defence of Socrates,' is perhaps the most exquisite specimen extant of classical prose. Cf. Milton, 'Paradise Regained,' iv 272-290.

P. 91, l. 28 **essay on the evidences of Christianity.**—See note on p. 11, l. 32, 33.

P. 91, ll. 34-37.—Macaulay assumes, like Dr. Johnson and Thackeray, that the tradition is unexceptionable. On the contrary, it rests only on the tainted evidence of Pope. Dr. Johnson says: 'The marriage, if *uncontradicted report* can be credited, made no addition to his happiness; it neither found them nor made them equal', and Thackeray speaks of 'that splendid but dismal union'. But, when we come to examine the evidence on which this tradition rests, it is found to owe its origin solely to the insinuation of Pope, 'Epistle to Arbuthnot' ('Prologue to the Satires') 393.

'Nor marrying discord in a noble wife

The only other contemporary testimony quoted in its favour is Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's letter from Constantinople in 1717, which is a forecast, not a description. 'Such a post as that, and such a wife as the Countess, do not seem to be in prudence eligible for a man that is asthmatic, and we may see the day when he will be glad to resign them both'. On the other hand, we have the positive evidence of two letters from Addison to Swift, of March 20 and October 1, 1718, and that of his will, in which he makes his 'dear wife' executrix of his will and guardian of their only child Charlotte. In the letters to Swift he twice invites his friend to stay with him, first at Holland House, of which he says: 'Your company will be the most acceptable in the world at Holland House, where you are highly esteemed by Lady Warwick and the young Lord', and again at Bilton, of which he says: 'I would strain hard to meet you there' [at Rugby] 'provided you would make me happy in your company for some days'. A man does not invite one of his most intimate and honoured friends to visit him, when his relations with his wife are such as Johnson, Macaulay and Thackeray, misled by Pope's malignant insinuation, would have us believe. Lastly, a woman must have been a very Tartar, to be unable to live peaceably with a man of so lovable a character as Addison's was.

P. 92, l. 4 **Rich.**—See note on p. 86, l. 24.

P. 92, l. 8 **stranged.**—Chiefly because he could not understand nor appreciate Addison's political moderation. See above, p. 73, and the notes on that page regarding Steele.

P. 92, ll. 10, 12 **Triumphant . . . militant.**—These epithets are adapted from those used by theologians about the Church 'militant on earth,' 'triumphant in heaven'.

P 92, l 22 **Crisis, &c.**—See notes on p. 80, l. 6, and p. 73, l 29.

P 92, l 26 **Celebrated letter to Congreve.**—See note on p 79, l. 1

P 92, l 34 **Bill for limiting the number of peers.**—Introduced in 1719 by the Earl of Sunderland, through the Duke of Somerset. It was a bill to fix the number of peers and to restrain the sovereign from creating any new peers except in order to fill up vacancies as they arose. The effect would have been to substitute the continental form of aristocracy, incompatible with free institutions, for the English form, which by continuous recruitment from all that is most distinguished in the commonalty is kept perpetually in touch and in harmony with the life and thought of the nation. His motive was to make the domination of the Whig aristocracy permanently secure against an overthrow which might be brought about by the use of the sovereign's prerogative of creating new peers.

P 92, l 36 **Somerset.**—For Charles, Duke of Somerset, see note on p. 20, l 7 Somerset was the chief Protestant peer, but the Duke of Norfolk, a Roman Catholic, was at the head of all the nobility in rank. Roman Catholics were excluded from Parliament till 1829.

P 93, l 9. **Grossly abused.**—The allusion is to the measure by which in 1712 Harley had overcome the persistent opposition of the Whig majority in the House of Lords to a peace policy by the simultaneous creation of twelve Tory peers. The question whether this was an 'abuse' or not is simply one of partisan opinion. 'Are the House of Lords justified in rejecting a measure which has the approval of the large majority of electors? And if not, is it constitutionally justifiable to overcome their resistance by the use of the royal prerogative?' Of these questions the political hairs of Macaulay at the present day would certainly return a negative answer to the first and an affirmative one to the second.

P 93, l 10 **Peculiar situation.**—Because the first two Hanoverian sovereigns, holding their power solely by the will of the people, were not yet secure against a revolution of popular opinion in favour of the exiled Stuarts. Two powerful classes, the country gentlemen and the clergy, were in the main still hostile to them.

P 93, ll 15, 16 **Swamping . . . the Upper House.**—I.e. destroying the Whig majority in the House of Lords by an inundation, as it were, of new Tory peers.

P 93, ll 20-26 Fortunately Englishmen set little store by theoretical objections to a system which has been found by experience to work well in practice. They believe that the spirit of a constitution and the moderation and common sense of the statesmen and politicians who have to live under it are a more important safeguard than any amount of nicely calculated paper provisions, checks, and counterchecks.

P 93, l 29 **The Plebeian.**—March 14, March 23, March 30, and April 6, 1719.

P 93, l. 31. **The Old Whig.**—Addison defended Sunderland's Peerage Bill against Steele's attack in this paper on March 19 and April 2. He was too ill to reply to Steele's last paper.

P 94, l. 4. It has been argued that Addison gave the first provocation by a passage in the *Old Whig* of March 19, in which he brushed aside some pedantry of Steele's about the Spartan Ephors, and refused to reply to certain other arguments of the *Plebeian*, which he described as only arguments *ad constandam invidiam* (tending to fan political animosities into a blaze). But there was nothing personal in the language which he used, certainly nothing to justify Steele's retort, to which Macaulay alludes.

P 94, l. 5. **An odious imputation.**—The of immorality, in the *Plebeian* of March 23. It is not very clear that, in the passage referred to by Addison, Steele intended any such reflection on the morals of Sunderland's colleagues.

P. 94, l. 6. **replied with severity.**—In the *Old Whig* of April 2. Whether such reflections were or were not intended, the character of the passages quoted by Steele fully justified the severity of Addison's rebuke of his adversary for going to cesspools for his arguments, and his dismissal of the subject with an *Horresco referens* (I shudder to recall).

P 94, l. 12. **logographia ritannica.**—See note on p. 6, l. 2.

P 94, l. 13. **As little Dicky.**—The passage from which this wholly gratuitous assumption was derived occurs in the *Old Whig* of April 2. No unprejudiced person can read into the passage any such inference, and it is as certain as any matter of opinion can be that Addison intended no innuendo against Steele.

P 94, l. 20. **The Duenna.**—A comedy of Sheridan's. See note on p. 87, l. 23.

P 94, l. 20. **Newton.**—See note on p. 22, l. 20.

P 95, l. 12. **A letter written, &c.**—This dedicatory letter to Craggs was prefixed by Tickell to the original edition of Addison's works. 'I cannot wish that any of my writings should last longer than the memory of our friendship, and therefore I thus publicly bequeath them to you, in return for the many valuable instances of your affection.

'That they may come to you with as little disadvantage as possible, I have left the care of them to one, whom, by the experience of some years, I know well qualified to answer my intentions. He has already the honour and happiness of being under your protection, and, as he will very much stand in need of it, I cannot wish him better, than that he may continue to deserve the favour and countenance of such a patron.

'I have no time to lay out in forming such compliments, as would ill suit that familiarity between us, which was once my greatest pleasure, and will be my greatest honour hereafter. Instead of them, accept of my hearty wishes, that the great reputation you have acquired so early may increase more and more, and that you may long serve

your country with those excellent talents and unblemished integrity, which have so powerfully recommended you to the most gracious and amiable Monarch that ever filled a throne May the frankness and generosity of your spirit continue to soften and subdue your enemies, and gain you as many friends, if possible, as sincere as yourself. When you have found such, they cannot wish you more true happiness than I, who am, with the greatest zeal, Dear Sir

‘Your most entirely affectionate Friend,

‘And faithful, obedient Servant,

‘J. ADDISON.

‘June 4, 1719.’

This dedication was penned only thirteen days before his death.

P 95, l 18 The whole of this paragraph deals with a story which is now recognised as having been entirely apocryphal. It rests again solely on the tainted witness of Pope and is quite unworthy of credence. It is just another link in the chain of fabrications by which Pope tried to make his own character invulnerable, after launching his poisoned dart against a dead friend's reputation.

P 95, l 19 **Gay**.—John Gay (1688–1732) was the author of ‘*Rural Sports*,’ a burlesque poem entitled ‘*Trivia, or the Art of Walking the Streets of London*,’ of some parodies of Ambrose Philip's pastorals, of the once well-known ‘*Fables*,’ and of the once extravagantly popular ‘*Beggar's Opera*.’ He is now chiefly remembered, not by his works, but by his close association with Swift, Pope, and their circle of friends. He was of an easy, good-natured, and rather flabby disposition, content to allow his friends, especially his feminine friends, to undertake the duty of keeping him in comfort and luxury. ‘lazy, kindly, uncommonly idle, rather slovenly, I'm afraid; for ever eating and saying good things, a little round French abbé of a man, sleek, soft-handed, and soft-hearted,’ is Thackeray's rather contemptuous, but not unjust, description of him. But there must have been something engaging in him, for everybody loved him, from the Duchess of Queensberry, whom Pope described as ‘weeping o'er his urn,’ to the stern old Dean.

P 96, l 2 **olingbroke**.—See note on p. 44, l 35

P 96 l 24 **His step-son**.—The young Earl of Warwick. This anecdote rests on the authority of Edward Young, the poet, and is probably authentic, agreeing, as it does, with what we know of Addison's previous attempts to reclaim the youth from folly and vice. Dr Johnson, after telling the story, adds: ‘What effect this awful scene had on the Earl I know not—he likewise died himself in a short time.’ See note on p. 86, l 25

P. 96, l 29 The allusions in this and the following lines refer to stanzas in Addison's ‘*Hymn*’ beginning:

‘When all thy mercies, O my God,
My rising soul surveys,
Transported with the view I'm lost
In wonder, love, and praise’

and in the 'Divine Ode' which commences

'How are thy servants blest, O Lord'

Both hymn and ode were originally published in the *Spectator*, Nos 433 and 489

P 96, ll 35-37 See notes on pp 26, ll 4 and 13, 29, l 18, and 30, l 24

P 98, l 2 **Image of a shepherd, &c.**—See Addison's 'Translation of Psalm xxiii,' beginning

'The Lord my pasture shall prepare
And feed me with the shepherd's care'

The following passages are alluded to

'When in the sultry globe I faint,
Or on the thirsty mountain pant,
To fertile vales and dewy meads
My weary wandering steps he leads;
Where peaceful rivers soft and slow
Amid the verdant landscape flow'

'Thy friendly crook shall give me aid'

'Though in a bare and rugged way
Through devious lonely wilds I stray.'

The 'Translation' was originally published in the *Spectator*, No 441, of July 26, 1712

P 98, l 7 **Love which casteth out fear.**—The reference is to the first Epistle of St John iv 18 'Perfect love casteth out fear.'

P 98, l 9 **The Jerusalem Chamber.**—The 'Jerusalem Chamber' was originally the parlour of the abbot's house, which was on the south side of the Abbey Church and was built between 1376 and 1386 In this chamber Edward V is said to have been born and Henry IV to have been brought to die Here the sittings of the Lower House of Convocation of the province of Canterbury are now held.

P 98, l 10 **The Abbey.**—Westminster Abbey occupies the site of a chapel built by Siebert, King of the East Saxons, in honour of St Peter, in the seventh century A larger church was erected by Edward the Martyr about 980, this church having been partly destroyed by the Danes, Edward the Confessor founded an abbey and church in the Norman style, completed in 1065, of which some remains still exist The present building was begun by Henry III in 1220 and completed in the reign of Henry VII The western towers and the west window were rebuilt by Sir Christopher Wren in George I's time

P 98, l 11 **ishop Atterbury.**—Francis Atterbury (1662-1732) was a notable wit and Jacobite. He was made Bishop of Rochester in 1713, after having been successively chaplain to Queen Anne, dean of Carlisle, canon of Exeter, and dean of Christ Church. After the

death of Queen Anne he continued to plot for the restoration of the Pretender, and in 1722 he was committed to the Tower on suspicion of treason. He was deprived of his dignities and banished in May 1723, and died in exile at Paris. He was a man of brilliant talents as an orator, as a preacher, and as a controversialist, and an intimate friend of Swift and Pope. Pope alludes to him in the 'Prologue to the Satires,' line 139, as 'Mitred Rochester' and in the 'Epilogue to the Satires,' Dialogue ii. 82, 83:

'How pleasing Atterbury's softer hour'
How shun'd the soul, unconquer'd in the Tower!'

He also wrote an epitaph on the tragic death of Atterbury's only daughter at Paris, within a few hours of her arrival, followed almost immediately by her father's death. See note on p. 13, l. 18.

P. 98, l. 14. **The shrine of Saint Edward.**—The shrine is of Purbeck marble and is in the Chapel of Edward the Confessor, King of England, 1042-1066.

P. 98, ll. 14, 15. **The Plantagenets.**—The fourteen English kings from Henry II to Richard III, 1154-1485, so called from the badge of their house, a sprig of broom, Latin *planta gemista*.

P. 98, l. 15. **The chapel of Henry the Seventh.**—This chapel occupies the site of the lady chapel erected by Henry III, which was pulled down to make way for it. It is a beautiful specimen of the perpendicular style, with the fretted vault work of the roof and fan tracery, like that of King's College Chapel at Cambridge.

P. 98, l. 16. **The house of Albemarle.**—Macaulay gives the Earls of Warwick of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries a title to which they had no right by descent, the Rich family not having inherited the title from the de Beauchamps, Earls of Warwick in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, who claimed the legendary Guy of Warwick as their ancestor and are now represented by Earl Beauchamp of Madresfield Court. The sixth Earl of this earlier creation, Richard de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick and Knight of the Garter, was granted in addition the title of Earl of Aumale in 1419, after the capture of Aumale in Normandy by Henry V., whose marriage with Catharine of France he arranged. Both titles became extinct with his son and successor Henry de Beauchamp, who was raised to the dignity of Duke of Warwick in 1444 and died without male issue in the following year. There were Earls of Albemarle, of a still earlier creation, in the thirteenth century, in the persons of William de Fors, great-grandson of Count Stephen, and his son William de Fors, who died in 1260. The title was revived by Charles II for George Monk, who was created Duke of Albemarle for his services in restoring the king to the throne; this was an implicit admission of the authenticity of the flattering pedigree which represented Monk as a descendant of Richard de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick and Aumale. Aumale, from which the name Albemarle comes, was a town and territory lying north-east of Rouen in the dukedom of Normandy. At a later date the title of Earl of

210 *LIFE AND WRITINGS OF ADDISON*

Albemarle was conferred by William III. on his friend Arnold Joost van Keppel, 1669-1718, whose descendants still hold it.

P 98, l. 17. *ext to the co n of ontague*.—Cf. Tickell's elegy :

'Oh, gone for ever, take this long adieu;
And sleep in peace next thy lov'd Montagu !'

P 98, l. 24 *An elegy which, &c.*—An extract has already been quoted by Macaulay at page 85. It was addressed 'To the Right Honourable the Earl of Warwick.' Macaulay's eulogy is, perhaps, somewhat 'perfidious,' but the poem does honour to the heart of the friend who wrote it and to the man of genius whose virtues inspired it. There is propriety of language, justness of sentiment, and an honest warmth of love and admiration enkindling it, as the following extracts may show.

Ne'er to these chambers, where the mighty rest,
Since their foundation, came a nobler guest,
Nor e'er was to the bowers of bliss convey'd
A fairer spirit, or more welcome shade.
In what new region, to the just assign'd,
What new employments please th' unbody'd mind ?
A winged virtue, through th' ethereal sky,
From world to world unweary'd does he fly ?

Does he delight to hear bold Seraphs tell
How Michael battled, and the Dragon fell ?
Or, mixt with milder cherubim, to glow
In hymns of love, not ill essay'd below ?'

P. 98, ll 35, 36 *The Queen of Sweden*.—Ulrica Eleanor, sister of the famous Charles XII. who was killed at Frederickshald in 1718 Her consort was Frederick I, Landgrave of Hesse Cassel

P 98, l. 36. *Pr ce ugene*.—See note on p. 30, line 6.

P. 98, l. 36. *The Grand Duke of Tuscany*.—From 1569 to 1737 the famous Medici family, rulers of Florence, were hereditary grand dukes of Tuscany. Cosmo III was grand duke in 1721:

P 98, l. 37 *Par a*.—Francis Farnese, Duke of Parma, a descendant of Alexander Farnese, who in 1534 became Pope Paul III.

P 98, l. 37. *odena*.—The dukes of Modena were of the illustrious house of Este from 1288 till 1796, when the French expelled the last duke.

P. 98, l. 37. *Guastalla*.—The Gonzagas, dukes of Mantua from 1328, held also the duchy of Guastalla till 1708, when Mantua was seized by the Emperor Joseph I.

P 99, l. 1. *enoa*.—See note on p. 26, l. 28

P 99, l. 1 *The egent Orleans*.—Philip II, Duke of Orleans (1674-1723), was the nephew of Louis XIV, and became Regent on his uncle's death in 1715 When he died, Louis XV., great-grandson of Louis XIV., assumed the government.

P. 99, l. 1. **Cardinal Dubois.**—Guillaume Dubois (1656–1723), Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Duke of Orleans, whose preceptor he had formerly been. Though a man of infamous character, and not even a priest, he successfully used his inordinate influence over his former pupil to procure for himself the Archbishopric of Cambrai and a Cardinal's hat. He became prime minister in 1722, a year before his death.

P. 99, l. 12. **Poets' Corner.**—In the south transept of the Abbey, where are memorials of great English writers, chiefly poets, from Chaucer to Tennyson and Browning.

P. 99, l. 15. **The everlasting Club.**—*Spectator*, No. 72, of May 23, 1711. 'The Everlasting Club consists of a hundred members, who divide the whole twenty-four hours among them in such a manner that the club sits night and day from one end of the year to another . . . It is a maxim of this club that the steward never dies, for, as they succeed one another by way of rotation, no man is to quit the great elbow chair, which stands at the head of the table, till his successor is in readiness to fill it . . . They have an old woman in the nature of a vestal whose business it is to cherish and perpetuate the fire, which burns from generation to generation, and has seen the glass-house fires in and out above an hundred times. . . . The Everlasting Club treats all other clubs with an eye of contempt, and talks even of the Kit-Cat and October as upstarts. Their ordinary discourse . . . is of members who have taken the glass in their turns for a week together, of others who have smoked an hundred pipes at a sitting . . . sometimes they speak in raptures of a run of ale in King Charles's reign . . . The senior member has outlived the whole club twice over, and has been drunk with some of the grandfathers of the present sitting members.'

P. 99, ll 15, 16 **The Loves of Hilpa and Shalu.**—*Spectator*, Nos 584 and 585, of August 23 and 25, 1714. The story tells of an antediluvian courtship, in which Hilpa, 'who was but a girl of three score and ten years,' was wooed by two brothers of whom she espoused the wealthier, Harpath. After his brother's death, 'snatched away' by an untimely fate at 250, Shalum renewed his courtship, and bade the daughter of Zilpah remember 'that the age of man is but a thousand years, that beauty is the admiration but of a few centuries.' After some dalliance with another and more opulent sutor, Mishpach, Hilpa accepts Shalum, after a brief courtship of only half a century or so, but not before her lover had become the richest man in China through the destruction of his rival's city by fire.

P. 99, l. 23 **reconciled wit and virtue, &c.**—Cf Pope, 'Satire,' v. 217–220

'He from the taste obscene reclaims our youth,
And sets the passions on the side of truth,
Forms the soft bosom with the gentlest art,
And pours each human virtue in the heart.'

P. 99, l. 25 **y fanatics.**—I.e. of the Puritan party

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

Macaulay's Style and Characteristics illustrated in the ' Essay on Addison '

I. The defects in this essay are due to

1. Mistakes about matters of fact

These are rare in Macaulay's Essays, but two have been noted in this Essay, the assignment of Dr. Lancaster, of Queen's College to Magdalen College (p 7), and the attribution of Sir Andrew Fountaine's portrait in Holland House to Addison

2. Invention presented as if it were fact

A good example of this is Macaulay's story of Steele pleading desperate poverty, borrowing £1000 from Addison, and then entertaining a large party on the strength of the loan (pp. 49, 50)

3. Acceptance of stories on insufficient or untrustworthy evidence

Instances of this failing are the story of Addison's travelling tutorship (p. 31), Pope's story about the lines on ' Atticus!' (p. 87), the stories about Addison's alleged unhappiness in his marriage (pp 91, 92), and the death-bed story about Gay (p. 95).

4. Exaggeration

E.g., the account of Addison's schoolboy attainments (p 7), and the alleged ease with which good heroic couplets can be written (pp. 15, 16)

5. Misrepresentation, due to (a) hastily formed opinion, (b) rhetorical effect; (c) personal or (d) political bias, e.g. .

(a) Addison's alleged ignorance of the Greek classics and of the Latin prose authors (pp. 8-13, and 40, 41)

(b) The character of Steele (pp. 48, 49).

(c) The persistent depreciation of Steele in comparison with Addison (pp. 59, 60, 63-65, 67, 68, 73, 74, 92-95)

(d) The descriptions of the Tories (pp. 32, 42, and 60-62).

6 Defective critical faculty :

E.g., the superficial criticism of Addison, Swift, and Voltaire (pp. 55-58).

II. 1. The following passages are good specimens of Macaulay's powers in narrative, description, and lively argument :

(a) The narrative of James II.'s treatment of Magdalen College (pp. 7, 8), of the effects of the storm of 1703 (p. 40), and of the representation of 'Cato' (pp. 68, 69).

(b) The description of the Homeric warrior (pp. 36, 37), the character of Steele (pp. 48, 49), and the description of Addison's last moments and of his cheerful piety (pp. 96, 97)

(c) The refutation of Dr. Johnson's opinion about Boileau (pp. 23, 24), and of Pope's charge against Addison and Tickell (p. 84).

2. Of his antithetical manner characteristic specimens are the passage on Addison's alleged inferiority in the Greek authors and in the Latin prose writers (pp. 10, 11), the sketch of the Duke of Shrewsbury's character (p. 29), Addison's alleged indifference to or ignorance of Latin orators and historians and of Italian history and literature (p. 41), and the often-quoted epigram on Steele, 'he was a rake among scholars, and a scholar among rakes' (p. 52).

3 An excellent example of paradox is his argument that Addison owed his popularity to his timidity (p. 45, ll. 28-31).

III. From the technical point of view two prominent characteristics of Macaulay's prose style are (1) His avoidance of the neuter relative pronouns 'which' and 'that'; and (2) his frequent use of very short sentences.

1. He avoids these relatives (a) by short sentences; and (b) by the substitution of apposition, of participles and adjectives and of prepositional phrases for relative clauses.

There are numerous pages in this Essay in which these neuter relatives occur only once, and four pages have been noted, 4, 67, 78, and 92, in which they do not occur at all.

2. The employment of very short sentences in combination with longer ones is often very effective in what may be styled (a) the pyramid; (b) the inverted pyramid; and (c) the 'crescendo

and diminuendo,' or alternate rise and fall in length of sentences. Examples of these three types, with figures representing the comparative number of words in each succeeding sentence of the paragraph, are given below:

(a) The pyramidal formation of the paragraph.

'The last moments of Addison—his forty-eighth year'
(pp. 96, 98)

Sentences 8, 8, 8, 12, 11, 100, 40, 27, 8, 8.

(b) The inverted pyramid:

'The great tempest—the general' (p. 40).

Sentences 32, 19, 6, 6, 11, 11, 7, 23, 36.

(c) The 'crescendo and diminuendo':

The first great poet—soldier in Europe' (pp. 36, 37).

Sentences 23, 32, 30, 46, 10, 50, 28, 77, 8, 23, 48.

It is not strange—in our own time' (pp. 66, 67)

Sentences 21, 10, 16, 9, 28, 17, 5, 19, 15, 16, 19, 21, 14,
26, 46.

Addison gave the play—unanimous applause' (pp. 68, 69).

Sentences 18, 13, 15, 24, 14, 10, 6, 14, 18, 42, 5, 11,
59, 33

APPENDIX II

Addison's Classical Attainments

Macaulay's criticism of Miss Aikin and his rash statements about the limitations of Addison's classical scholarship have been already considered in the notes. In view, however, of Macaulay's allegations, a careful examination has been made of the whole of Addison's contributions to the *Spectator*. The result shows still more clearly now very inaccurate and ill-grounded were those allegations.

1. No less than thirty-two Greek authors are cited by Addison in the *Spectator*, the total number of instances in which either the substance or the actual words of a quotation are given amounting to eighty-seven. Twenty of these quotations are in Greek, the remainder in an English translation. The authors mentioned or cited are as follows. Ælian, Antiphanes, Aristenetus, Aristophanes, Aristotle, Diodorus Siculus, Diogenes Laertius, Epictetus, Euripides, Heliodorus, Herodotus, Hesiod, Hierocles, Homer, Josephus, Longinus, Lucian, Menander, Musæus, Pindar, Plato, Plutarch, Prodicus, Pythagoras, Sappho, Simonides, Sophocles, Theocritus, Theophrastus, Thucydides, Tryphiodorus, Xenophon.

In addition to these, he quotes five passages in Greek, the authorship

of which is uncertain, a Greek proverb, and one of the Fathers. He has also an allusion to the Lapogrammatists and other 'freak' poets, and a Greek quotation which appears to be of his own composition.

The allusions and citations amount, in all, to 120, of which twenty-four have reference to Homer, twenty-two to Aristotle, and twelve to Plato.

One of the essays, besides, is a fable written in direct imitation of the humorous fables of Lucian.

In face of these facts and figures it will be plain that Macaulay was indeed wide of the mark in asserting that Addison's knowledge of Greek, 'though doubtless such as was, in his time, thought respectable, at Oxford, was evidently less than that which many lads now carry away every year from Eton and Rugby.'

2. The number of allusions to Latin prose authors in the *Spectator* is much less considerable, though the Latin verse quotations are, of course, very numerous. They amount, in all, to thirty-four, of which twenty are quotations in substance or in the actual words of the authors.

The authors cited are Cicero, Livy, Quintilian, Sallust, Seneca, Suetonius, Tacitus, Valens, and Valentinian. There is also a saying of Brutus quoted.

This is surely enough, at least, to refute Macaulay's statement that 'Addison's serious attention, during his residence at the University, was almost entirely concentrated on Latin poetry,' and that 'if he did not wholly neglect other provinces of ancient literature, he vouchsafed to them only a cursory glance.'

APPENDIX III

Addison's Grammar and English

Of the charm and grace of Addison's prose style there is only one opinion. But as that style has also been held up as a model of correctness, it is necessary to point out that this is very far from being invariably true.

An analysis of all his papers in the *Spectator* shows that the number of lapses of grammar and idiom is considerable. No less than seventy-two passages have been noted in which these occur, and there are not a few for which the exercise of a modern schoolboy would be heavily underscored.

1. There are occasional solecisms, such as 'methoughts,' 'loaden,' 'that cherubim,' 'more preferable,' 'more inferior,' 'plantations . . . which are *laid* out by the rule and line,' 'each of those persons *have*

lost, &c.,’ ‘in proportion as either of these two qualities are wanting,’ ‘the love, tenderness and compassion which are apt to rise in us as that by which the whole world of life is upheld,’ ‘it would have been impossible to have given,’ ‘the glowing redness of the berries, with which they are hung at this time, vies with the verdure of their leaves, and are apt to inspire the heart of the beholder, &c.,’ ‘this is none of those turbulent passions which is apt to gratify a man in the heats of youth.’

But, apart from such obvious blunders of grammár, there will be found a rather surprising number of slovenly constructions and incorrect or inelegant usages.

2 The following are instances of incorrect usages of correlatives and incorrect consecutions.

At such hours when . . . ‘These carry the humour so far till the affected coldness quite kills, &c.,’ ‘but still there will be such a mixture of delight in the very disgust it gives us, as any of these qualifications are most conspicuous and prevailing,’ ‘a second kind of beauty, which does not work in the imagination with that warmth and violence as the beauty that appears in its proper species,’ ‘we should sufficiently weigh the objects of our hopes, whether they be such as we may reasonably expect from them what we propose in their fruition,’ ‘had he read the books which he has collected, he would find this accusation . . . groundless,’ ‘I have as many (letters) . . . of such who would fill up the vacancy, &c.,’ ‘you will find such a place . . . which, &c.,’ ‘it is very natural for such who, &c.’

3 Slovenly constructions, such as are only tolerable in conversation, are sometimes allowed to appear in the Essays :

‘Both to men’s morals and their undertakings,’ ‘either real blemishes or beauties,’ ‘we should be more angry with a sinner than a heretic,’ ‘that historian tells us that it is their opinion that no man ever killed his father, or that it is possible such a crime should be in nature,’ ‘some ludicrous schoolmen have put the case that, if an ass were placed between two bundles of hay . . . whether it would be possible for him to eat of either,’ ‘his whole story . . . seems to be a full and complete relation of what the other is only an epitome,’ ‘such quotations as might do more honour to the Italian than English poet,’ ‘if the English stage were under the same regulations the Athenian was formerly,’ ‘but if we look into the English comedies above mentioned, we would think, &c.,’ ‘I am afraid neither our Smyrna or St. James’s will be a match for it,’ ‘when we are at school, it is necessary for us to be acquainted with the system of Pagan theology, and may be allowed to enliven a theme

or point an epigram with a heathen god,' 'an ordinary poet would have weakened, instead of illustrated the principal fable'

4. Examples of incorrect usages of verbal nouns and participial constructions are :

Writers who have employed their wit and parts in *propagating* of vice and irreligion,' '*Having passed away* the greatest part of the morning in hearing the knight's reflections . . . he asked me if I would smoke a pipe with him,' 'I . . . have received much greater satisfaction from the *suppressing* such performances, &c'

5 Even the modern purist's bugbear 'and which,' without any preceding relative, is to be found in Addison.

But notwithstanding this faculty must in some measure be born in us, there are several methods of cultivating and improving it, *and without which* it will be very uncertain,' 'I shall here publish the contents of a little manuscript lately fallen into my hands, *and which* pretends to great antiquity'

6 Incorrect or inelegant usages of particular words are comparatively common

'Who visited his friend very frequently, and was *dictated* by his natural affection . . . to make himself esteemed, &c.' 'the mind meets *with* other misfortunes in her whole strength,' 'very *difficultly*,' 'I shall not engage on those *beaten* subjects of the usefulness of knowledge, &c'—(one may speak, with Hamlet, of 'the beaten *way* of friendship,' but not of 'beaten *subjects*'),—'disburse,' incorrectly used for 'reimburse,' 'a serenity which will produce a *satiety* of joy and an uninterrupted happiness,' 'but they were incapable, either of them, to *recede* from the choice they had made,' 'I need not acquaint my reader that *in* the Ides of March Brutus destroyed Cæsar,' 'when she hears of a robbery that has been *made*,' 'they are at least intimations, not only of the excellency of a human soul, but of its independence *on* the body,' 'one who condoled *him*' (incorrectly for 'condoled with him'),—'ask them which of their husbands they condole'—(a very dubious usage for 'lament'),—'he has disposed of these several circumstances among so many agreeable and natural fictions of his own,' 'I never met with a consideration that is more finely spun, and *what* has better pleased me,' 'I have not *stuck* to rank them with the murderer and assassin'

7. It must not be supposed, however, that the various blemishes of which examples have been given above are *relatively* frequent; on the contrary, they occur but rarely, considering the length and number of the essays from which they have been collected. If we include the

'Revised Spectator,' the total number of Addison's papers is 298, in relation to such a total, the proportion of blemishes in the workmanship is inconsiderable

APPENDIX IV

Addison's Style

1. **Character of style.**—The style of Addison is entirely original, and it has never been successfully imitated. It stands midway between the exalted and the colloquial, and it is perfectly adapted to the character of the compositions which it adorns. If it owes anything to the influence of any one preceding author, it is perhaps in the easy grace and ironic humour of Plato's dialogues that we should find the nearest parallel. In 'sweetness, grace, and facility,' it is Greek rather than Latin in manner: its diction also is far less latinistic than that of Milton in the previous generation, or Dryden in his own, or Dr. Johnson in a later generation

2 **Three requisites of style.**—Every one feels the charm of Addison's style, as of his humour, but it is not easy to analyse either the one or the other 'This mystery of fine writing,' says Bishop Hurd in a note on No 409 of the *Spectator*, 'consists chiefly in three things (1) In a choice of *fit* terms, (2) In such a *construction* of them as agrees to the grammar of the language in which we write; and (3) In a pleasing *order and arrangement* of them. By the first of these qualities a style becomes, what we call, *elegant* by the second, *exact* and by the third, *harmonious*. Each of these qualities may be possessed by itself; but they must concur, to form a finished style.' It has been pointed out (in Appendix III) that the commonly received notion regarding the correctness of grammar and construction in Addison's prose requires some modification, and that there are exceptions even to his usual felicity in choosing '*fit* terms'—what Matthew Arnold has called the 'inevitable' word or phrase—though this failing is very rare. But in respect of the third requisite for a finished style Addison is hardly ever, if ever, at fault. His ear, which played him so curiously false in rhyme, seems to be almost unerring when he moves among the harmonies of prose. *There*, at least, he abides 'in music's most serene dominions.'

3. **Analysis:** *method of harmonic composition illustrated.*—If we seek for the mechanical means by which this harmony is attained, we find that it consists chiefly in the following practices:

(a) Varying the rhythm, by varying the length and the feet of each individual sentence. Take, for example, the sentence :

‘ I shall first | cōnsid | ēr thōse | plēasures of | thē imāg | inā | tīōn,
which arise | frōm thē āc | tūāl vīw | ānd sūr | vēy of ōut | wārd
ōf | jēcts ’

Here the successive feet are anapæst, iambus, iambus, dactyl, anapæst, iambus; anap t, anap t, anapæst, iamb, anapæst, iambus. There is rich variety of movement.

(b) Constructing the constituent parts of a sentence, so that each part flows easily, and that the several parts compose an harmonious whole. And this latter object is often achieved by making the second or two, or the third of three, constituent members longer than the preceding member or members: E.g. ‘ We are flung into a pleasing astonishment at such unbounded views, and feel a delightful stillness and amazement in the soul at the apprehension of them.’

(c) Varying the rhythm of a paragraph similarly by varying the length, number, and rhythm of the individual sentences.

(d) Avoiding rhymes, jingles of sound, and fragments of blank verse or any other metrical arrangement of words: E.g. ‘ excited and delighted ’ (Macaulay); ‘ Art thou He that should come or do we look for another ? ’ (Authorised version of the New Testament—a complete hexameter line).

(e) In English, avoiding the undue frequency of sibilants, ‘ s,’ ‘ sh,’ and ‘ c ’ soft being predominant in our tongue

Other points might be named, but these will suffice to illustrate the means by which ‘ prose hath her cadences.’

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